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ABSTRACT

This report evaluates the treatment of Aisa in American elementary and secondary school textbooks. The study was undertaken by the Asia Society. Guided by a detailed questionnaire, 103 scholars, teachers, and others with Asian expertise reviewed 306 books commonly used in the 50 states during 1974-75. This book summarizes the process of evaluation, the findings of the individual readers, and the Asia Society's own conclusions and recommendations for action as a result of their findings. Materials were examined for their accuracy, authenticity, underlying assumptions and approaches, humanistic and human interest, style and tone, sexism, format and illustrations, bias, and recognition of innate dignity of Asian culture. Overall ratings and qualifications of authors and consultants are presented. Appendices include a listing of the books reviewed, the questionnaire used in the study, a list of the readers, and the names of the Asia Society's staff. (Author/RM)

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ASIA IN AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS: AN EVALUATION

The Asia Society, Inc.

SO 009 064

March 1976

ASIA IN AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS:
AN EVALUATION

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March 1976

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112 East 64th Street
New York, N. Y. 10021

One evening, while I was alone in the little "east room" on the Inner Court, Osini, my sister, came to see me. "These books are so strange," she began with disapproval. "They contain no classical words and no sentences of any profound meaning. Do you believe that they will one day make you a wise man?"

"I hope so," I answered.

"And what do you learn from these books?" she asked with an air of superiority, fingering one page after another. "I think it is a pity for you. You are, after all, gifted; you have read Tsung-yong. You have learnt many old poems by heart, and have even copied Yulgok's anecdotes. But now, with this new learning, you are wasting yourself on worthless things."

Osini was an intelligent girl. She liked reading and knew many of the anecdotes and novels written in the old style; her speech was rich in classical Korean words unfamiliar even to my mother. People considered her the cleverest of us children, and indeed she was the only one who often found fault with me. She thought my handwriting miserable, my language without beauty or dignity. For this reason I tried to avoid talking with her.

"It is just that the new learning is something different," I told her at last, "it teaches you how to build railways which will enable people to travel over thousands of miles. It teaches you to estimate how far off the moon is, or how to make use of the power of the lightning to produce light."

"That does not make you a wise man," she said with concern.

"These are the new times," I continued, "brighter ones after our long, dark sleep. A fresh breeze has awakened us. Now it is spring, after a long winter. That is what they say."

For a long while Osini seemed lost in thought and hardly listened to me. "And how far is it from us to this country which they call Europe?" she asked me at last.

"That I haven't learned yet, but it must be many times ten thousand miles."

"Once upon a time the Princess Sogun married into a country without any flowers. It couldn't be there, could it?"

"No; that was only the land of the Huns.'"

"Do you believe they have flowers in Europe like our lilies, forsythias and azaleas?"

"I don't know."

"Do you believe they have a south wind there? Do they sit in the moonlight drinking wine in order to write poems?"

"I cannot tell."

"Then you don't know anything worth knowing," she summed up, disappointed.

From The Yalu Flows by Mirok Li, an autobiographical novel about life in early 20th-century Korea. (The Grass Roof by Younghill Kang and The Yalu Flows by Mirok Li, reprinted in one edition by Norton Library, 1975, with an introduction by Bonnie R. Crown)

"Textbooks are only tools of instruction, but in the United States they are extremely influential tools. In no small number of schools, wisely or unwisely, they virtually determine the course of study; in almost all schools they are used as organizational bases for what is taught to pupils, and as such they influence pupils' minds and attitudes both directly and in-indirectly. Analysis of what representative textbooks say about a topic and of the way they say it, is one important index of the substantive content of the school curriculum. Such an analysis is especially revealing about the treatment of the Far East because most American teachers have not had special training in the field of Asiatic studies. The textbook, in too many cases, is the major reservoir of information for teachers and pupils alike about an area of the world which has not, until recently, or even now commonly, been treated adequately or objectively in institutions of higher education and in centers of teacher training."

(Wilson, Howard E., ed. Treatment of Asia in American Textbooks, Committee on Asiatic Studies of the American Council on Education and the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946.)

"At this time of national concern over consumer protection, the largest single group of unprotected consumers is made up of the 50 million school children who are being required to learn from educational materials almost all of which have been inadequately developed and evaluated."

(P. Kenneth Komoski, President of Educational Products Information Exchange, May 1971, before U.S. House of Representatives.)

"...school texts are the important books. After all, they are the ones the law says kids must read....Children cannot be expected to question textbooks which, unlike nursery tales, are assumed to be literally correct in every way. Books now reflect the flaws of our society, but we hope to make sure they don't perpetuate them."

(Bradford Chambers, director of the Council on Inter-Racial Books for Children, Inc., in Carnegie Quarterly, Fall 1974)

FOREWORD

This volume reports on what The Asia Society believes to be the most extensive evaluation ever attempted of the treatment of Asia in American elementary and secondary school texts. The study was supported by The Ford Foundation. Guided by a detailed questionnaire, 103 scholars, teachers, and others with Asian expertise reviewed 306 books in common use in the 50 states in 1974-75. This book summarizes the process of the evaluation, the findings of the individual readers, and the Society's own conclusions and recommendations for action as a result of their findings.

A distillation of the report, intended for wide distribution to teachers, publishers, writers, textbook selection committees, state education departments, teacher training programs, and government agencies, is being published separately.

If there is one principal lesson to be derived from the investigation, it is that formidable challenges still lie ahead for those who, like The Asia Society, have embraced the goal of deepening American understanding of Asia.

The Society is deeply indebted to Bonnie R. Crown, director of its Educational Resources/Asian Literature Program, for having conceived this path-breaking study and carried it to its successful conclusion. The task could not have been accomplished, however, without the dedicated collaboration of her own staff associates, Loretta Ryan and Cindy Rau, and of those professionals in the field who read the textual materials with care and discrimination. To them, and to The Ford Foundation, the Society expresses its heartfelt gratitude.

Phillips Talbot

Phillips Talbot
President

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 1959 the Asian Literature Program of The Asia Society was established to promote the translation and publication of works by Asian writers. One of the objectives of this program was to make available works which would be not only useful on the college and university level, but also of interest to the general reader. The Program worked closely with scholars throughout this country, in Europe, and in Asia, to identify needs, develop and evaluate manuscripts, and arrange for publication through university and trade publishers and literary magazines. To reach still larger audiences, it began to sponsor lectures, readings, and seminars in cooperation with universities and colleges throughout this country, with the Association for Asian Studies, and with other organizations. Among these was the Ghalib Centennial Celebration, a series of programs which toured nationally and was supported by the Ford Foundation.

In the fall of 1969, to complement the activities of the then separate Education Department of the Society, the Program extended its activities to include the elementary and secondary school levels by participating in and contributing materials to a conference on "Teaching the Literature of the Global Village." In 1970 and again in 1971 the Program conducted workshops for conferences on "Asian Studies in the Schools" sponsored by the Society for Eastern Arts in San Francisco.

The Education Program had for some years conducted in-service courses in Asian culture for teachers. In 1971 the Asian Literature Program organized the first such course in which Asian literature was used as the vehicle for transmitting Asian culture. This course was designed to coordinate with the New York City Board of Education course on Asia for college-bound students. During this period the Asian Literature Program also prepared two features presenting works by Asians, "Voices of Asia" (1969) and "Contemporary Chinese Literature" (1972), both edited by ALP director Bonnie R. Crown, for Social Education, the professional journal for social studies teachers, and commissioned essays on the literature of Asia with bibliographies of Asian works by scholars Edward C. Dimock, Jr., Donald Keene, Marshall R. Pihl, John Echols, and Kai-yu Hsu for distribution to teachers.

In 1969 the Asian Literature Program had a survey of "world" literature books conducted to determine the extent and nature of Asian content. In a sampling of 16 texts, pages devoted to Asian "literature" ranged from .02 per cent to 14.7 per cent; these percentages included Pearl Buck in the Chinese literary tradition and Rudyard Kipling in the Indian literary tradition! It was essential, however, that an evaluation of Asian content be extended to the social studies texts, where there had been great efforts and commitment to include Asia in the curriculum in the post-World War II period. Focusing on the social studies texts, it was believed, would not only reveal what is being put into the hands of the students; an evaluation would also reflect popularly held public attitudes and assumptions about Asia, and thus be of significance to all segments of American society.

In the fall of 1973, the education efforts of the Society were placed within the Asian Literature Program (renamed Educational Resources/ Asian Literature Program). The reorganization provided the opportunity not only to undertake a major examination of social studies texts but also to realize on the primary and secondary levels the long-standing goal of the Asian Literature Program to make Asian voices heard. Emphasis was placed on nationally distributed student-learning materials, from which the teacher all too often also "learns" about Asia. Activities also were directed to working with national professional education organizations such as the National Council for the Social Studies and the National Council of Teachers of English, producers of educational materials, and other service organizations and resource centers around the country.

It was expected that the answer to the question "What is being presented about Asia at what level?" would define what supplementary materials would need to be identified and/or designed to go with texts already in use in the schools. The extensive and overwhelming inadequacies reported by evaluators were unexpected. While it had been intended that the reports on each individual title would provide the Society with the basic information with which to work with individual publishers on supplementary materials to go with their basic textbooks, the results of this report indicate that what is necessary is a new approach to the teaching about Asia which will draw on recent scholarly findings and Asian works to present, with greater accuracy and authenticity, the Asian reality.

SELECTION OF TEXTBOOKS

The first step in this evaluation was to identify the most widely used basic social studies textbooks (K-12) throughout the nation. In addition to consulting social studies entries in Textbooks in Print, requests were sent to state education departments, social studies supervisors, and textbook selection committees of the 50 states. Inquiries were also sent to large cities. Replies, after multiple requests (May, June, July 1974), were received from 23 states and 20 cities. The states represented included key states: California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and Florida. The cities included a wide geographic representation: Cleveland, Baltimore, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, San Diego, and Portland. Since many states did not reply, it would seem that the query is an unusual one, which bureaucracies were unable to handle. Although 16 states and 11 cities did send complete social studies adoption policies, seven states replied that they did not have information about text materials, as they are selected by the local community. Only 22 states have textbook adoption policies, which may be an explanation for the lack of response from the other states.

State and city replies pointed to a great pluralism across the country with regard to Asian studies. One state (North Carolina) requires coverage of Asia. Other states reported that they do not insist on the inclusion of Asian studies although many state officials wrote that they mandated courses on such subjects as world history or ethnic studies which provided an opportunity to study Asia. For example:

> In terms of Asian studies, we do not mandate such a course, but it is a one-quarter component of our Ethnic Studies course which is now offered in approximately half of our junior and senior high schools. (San Diego City Schools, Social Studies Specialist Roy Harris)
>
> ...the titles of representative series used at the sixth-grade level are included. At K-5 levels, materials concerning Asia are included throughout the curriculum at the most meaningful times and places. We are not under a mandate from our school system to include Asian Studies. We do, however, give considerable emphasis to Asian affairs in our courses in World History, Modern History, World Problems among others. We also offer a separate elective course entitled "Far Eastern History." (The Public Schools of the District of Columbia)
>
> There is no state mandated course in the area of Asian studies. On the local level Dade County uses the mini-course approach and has several elective courses available to secondary students. (Dade County, Miami, Florida)

The two most informative letters demonstrate the great disparity in what is required:

> In the Chicago public schools at the kindergarten level, pupils are introduced to Asia through a comparative study of people in Tokyo with people in Chicago. In the sixth year, pupils return to their study of Asia from the point of view of the many different cultural patterns found in regions around the world. This includes a study of the People's Republic of China, Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and the Republic of Korea.
>
> Asian Studies at the secondary level is an elective offering, with recommended placement in grade twelve. We are sending to you under separate cover a brochure that will give additional information concerning this course as well as copies of the curriculum guides that have been developed for Unit I - Asian Man and His Environment and Unit II - Cultural Patterns of Asian Man. Lists of resource materials will be found in the brochure and in the curriculum guides.
>
> The above information refers only to the Chicago public schools. For information concerning mandates and programs in other school districts, we suggest that you contact the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, Illinois 62706.

An official from another state wrote:

> The state evidently is not interested in Asian studies.... In our district we do have a few classes in Oriental Studies and World Cultures which emphasize Asian Studies. However, students have a difficult time in scheduling these electives with such a tightly mandated state program.

A sampling of other replies is included to illustrate the great variety of approaches to Asia:

> There are no mandated courses in Asian Studies. However, several opportunities are provided in the grades kindergarten through 6 to study about the people in other countries with specific reference to Japan.
>
> Grade 3 pupils examine the ways people live in different regions of the world. Suggested locations for study include the Gobi, Mekong River Valley and the Himalayas. In grade 5, pupils learn about geography and economics of India. Grade 6 provides a study of the early civilizations of both China and India. (Board of Education of the City of New York)

The social studies program shall emphasize the multicultural, regional aspects of history, geography, and literature. (State of New Mexico Department of Education)

In terms of Asian Studies, we do not mandate such a course, but it is a one-quarter component of our Ethnic Studies course which is now offered in approximately half of our junior and senior high schools. In addition, we have an excellent one-year Asian Studies Program at one of our high schools. (San Diego City Schools)

Our State requires Contemporary World Problems as a course. Part of the content may be selected from Asian studies. No state mandate exists to that effect however. (Renton School District 403, Renton, Washington)

Our State has no mandate on inclusion of Asian studies in the schools--this is determined by each individual district. (Phoenix Union High School System)

The Social Studies Department has the responsibility for the Asian studies you wished to know about. I am attaching a copy of our textbooks used in our Asian studies electives. The District and the State have not mandated any courses in this area of the curriculum. Our District does have an elective that was offered in ten of our senior high schools last school year. Units on Asia, however, are covered in grades 7 and possibly grade 9. (Los Angeles City Unified School District)

Ohio does not mandate an Asian studies course in our secondary schools. (Cleveland Public Schools)

The only course that we have that is specifically oriented towards Asia is Asian Studies. This course is designed to acquaint the student with a life style and societal value system totally unrelated to his own. Emphasis in this course will be given to village life, classical civilization, and changes brought by the 20th century. Cultures of China, Japan, Russia, and India-Pakistan will be examined. The textbook which is formally adopted for this is as follows: World Regional Studies Series: China, India, Japan, Russia, published by Houghton Mifflin Company. (Glendale Union High School District, Glendale, Arizona)

Our students are provided instructional episodes relative to Non-Western History (viz., Africa, Asia) at both the elementary and secondary levels. An effort is made to enable students to understand the oneness of knowledge and to develop a world view of history. (Baltimore City Public Schools)

> In response to your letter outlining the new thrust of The Asia Society and seeking information concerning the Philadelphia school system's program, permit me to share with you the following information: 1) Asian studies are not mandated by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as separate and distinct courses. They must be a part of World History and Government courses and the World Culture courses. All seventh graders study the geography of the Eastern Hemisphere with emphasis on cultural and human geography. All ninth graders in the Philadelphia School District have World History and Government as one of the required subjects for a diploma. 2) Elective courses are offered at our senior high school level. These courses include: a) The Far East, b) Religions of the World, c) Asian World, d) Non-Western Civilization. (The School District of Philadelphia)

Textbook lists that were received were checked against publishers' catalogues: 252 books with Asian content from 34 publishers appear on these adoption lists. No text appeared on more than 18 lists. Only 27 titles appeared on more than 10 lists.

As a result of the pluralism revealed in this survey of adoption lists, it was deemed essential that all materials which could be considered basic social studies texts be included in this evaluation. Information on available texts was gathered at the National Council for the Social Studies meetings in the fall of 1973 and the fall of 1974. Consultations with active teachers using materials not on state lists indicated that it was necessary to add 54 titles to the 252 identified on adoption lists in order to get a fair picture of the state of educational materials on Asia.

ORDERING BOOKS

Project staff found that the ordering and delivery of catalogues and educational materials often takes several weeks and even months. It was not always clear from the catalogue descriptions whether certain textbooks had any Asian content. For example, two books with the titles Mainstreams of Civilization and The Eastern Hemisphere do not cover Asia at all. In two instances, 1967 and 1971 editions of books were delivered in response to clearly marked purchase orders for 1973 and 1975 editions advertised in catalogues.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

A large number of thoughtful and experienced educators throughout the nation were consulted by the Society on the textbook evaluation proposal. Among them was Dr. Donald Johnson of New York University, who has written extensively on teaching about Asia in the schools, is co-author with Jean Johnson of a textbook on India, and conducts a "Masters Program in Asian Studies" in the School of Education at New York University that could well serve as a model program for other schools of education. Dr. Johnson agreed to cooperate with the textbook evaluation project and to have teachers in his program carry out a project related to the evaluation. This was reinforced by Loretta Ryan, a member of the seminar and former teacher, who was to join the Asia Society staff upon completion of the program to work on the Society textbook evaluation.

With Ms. Ryan as chairperson of a seven-member group of the class of 1974, a working paper on the evaluation of educational materials on Asia was prepared. The members of the committee came from a variety of teaching backgrounds and geographic regions. All shared experience in study and travel in Asia as well as in the teaching of Asian studies in American classrooms. The other members of the committee were:

Billie Day
Cardozo High School
Washington, D.C.

Peggy Helgeson
Fairbault Minnesota School
District #656
Fairbault, Minnesota

Harry Osgood
Director
Area Cooperative
Educational Services
New Haven, Connecticut

Lucia Pierce
Morgan School
Clinton, Connecticut

Frederick Price
St. Paul Public Schools
St. Paul, Minnesota

William Skowronski
Msgr. Bonner High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In the preparation of the questionnaire, the committee consulted other evaluation instruments and reports as well as a wide range of textbooks with Asian content from the NYU curriculum center. The document went through five revisions and the committee invested an estimated 600 person-hours in it.

The paper was then submitted to other members of the NYU seminar in August for criticism and revised again. The generations of combined teaching experience in this group contributed considerably to the final instrument.

As teachers, all members of the group were familiar with the frustration experienced in many school systems which require teachers to analyze texts and submit budget requests on 24 hours' notice. They were enthusiastic that a group would finally have a large block of time to make a systematic analysis of texts and give valuable suggestions and support. The designers of the questionnaire were careful to transmit their concerns so that teachers would have a significant voice in the evaluation process.

During September and October 1974 the questionnaire was tested, refined, and re-designed by the staff of the Educational Resources/Asian Literature Program:

Bonnie R. Crown, Director
Loretta Ryan, Project Associate
Andrea Miller, Assistant Director
Zelda Bradburd, Research and Editorial Assistant
Tin-Mala, Staff Assistant

The program staff revised the evaluation guide several times before submitting it with a book to be evaluated to each member of the national advisory panel for testing. On the panel were:

Jackson Bailey
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Peter Bennett
Staples High School
Westport, Connecticut

Franklin Buchanan
Service Center for Teachers
  of Asian Studies
Columbus, Ohio

Betty Bullard
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Michael Fonte
PASE
Ann Arbor, Michigan

James Hantula
Chairperson, AAS Committee
  on Elementary and Secondary
    Education
Cedar Falls, Iowa

Fern Ingersoll
Writer, Lecturer
Takoma Park, Maryland

Donald Johnson
New York University
New York, New York

Jean Johnson
Friends School
New York, New York

David Narot
World Education
New York, New York

Marta Nicholas
Chicago, Illinois

Harold Wright
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

At this time, in-house staff also reviewed 23 books according to the questionnaire and collated results to test the replicability of the process. The questionnaire was revised for the final time with the assistance of the national advisory panel which had tested and endorsed it at a meeting on November 9, 1974 in New York.

At this meeting, the panel and staff discussed the complications involved in evaluating audio-visual materials. The panel reviewed some films and filmstrips. Staff reported on student evaluations conducted as part of the preliminary survey on the special problems of evaluating audio-visual materials. It was decided at this time that assessing such materials was a quite different problem from evaluating printed materials and that the practical considerations of such a survey were beyond the scope of the present study.

CONTENT OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was designed to determine:

1) what American elementary and secondary school textbooks teach about Asia at which levels.
2) the extent to which there is a total cultural approach.
3) the degree to which primary sources of Asian expression are incorporated into the text, supplementary activities, bibliography, and references.

In addition, preliminary criteria established for the project mandated that materials be assessed for: accuracy, authenticity, bias, and recognition of the innate dignity of Asian cultures. The designers of the questionnaire incorporated these concerns, long of interest to the Educational Resources/Asian Literature Program, as well as the issues raised by teacher-consultants, into a lengthy document which included the following sections:

format
methodology
topics
accuracy
foreign terms
assumptions
style and tone
illustrations
credits
source readings
supporting materials
humanities
suggestions
pats on the back
summation--overall rating

In addition to eliciting a wealth of information on textbook issues of concern to many teachers for years, the questionnaire is an attempt to analyze and categorize and to some extent quantify the various dimensions of accuracy, the basic underlying assumptions and approaches to Asia, and the uses of, and attitudes toward, literature, the arts, and other aspects of the Asian experience. A rating useful for future work with authors, teachers, and publishers can be determined for each of these areas in texts. The limits of the usefulness of the rating will be discussed in the pertinent section in the main body of the report. Although there are limits in each of these sections, this is, as far as we know, the first attempt to assess systematically such a wide range of books from different perspectives.

SELECTION OF READERS

One of the objectives of this entire evaluation was to involve scholars in a process which would raise their consciousness through a direct confrontation with the Asian content of elementary and secondary school textbooks. It was also an opportunity to voice their concerns about the quality of educational materials.

Ninety-nine reviewers participated in this evaluation project, forty-four of whom are scholars and fifty-five of whom are teachers, writers, educators, and lecturers with interest and experience in Asia. Of this second group, most are active teachers. (See Appendix C)

One reader wrote:

> Working on the survey has given me an awareness and appreciation of the problems in texts that I could have gotten no other way. The project shows what needs to be done and what can be done. I hope it continues to arouse the same sense of concern and commitment in others that it has in me.

Among the scholars who were selected were those who had worked with the Asian Literature Program and had experience communicating to an audience beyond the scholarly community. In addition to this, the five main considerations that went into the selection of scholars were (1) area of expertise and acknowledgement of that expertise by peers; (2) extensive and recent experience in Asia; (3) knowledge of the language of the area of expertise; (4) experience in translating, an aspect of transmitting scholarly knowledge with particular relevance to educational objectives on the elementary and secondary school level; and (5) potential of the scholar for a long-range commitment to working with the Society on materials for student use. It was also considered essential to have representatives from different geographic areas and to respect the Chinese system of including the young, the middle-aged, and the advanced in age. Out of the 44 scholars asked to participate, only 2 pleaded "too busy."

GENERAL READERS

Elementary and secondary school teachers made up the largest number of a second group, termed "general readers." They were selected for their experience in the study of Asia *in* Asia, reputation for competence in the classroom, and, as with the scholars, were chosen from different geographical localities as well as from different types of school systems. "General readers" included a member of the California State Adoption Board, department chairpersons with many years of experience, young teachers in Illinois and metropolitan New Jersey; innovative, imaginative teachers from multi-ethnic schools in New York City; and an Atlanta member of the National Council of Social Studies Committee on Social Justice for Women. Unable to find commercial materials suitable for their students, two had developed their own units, and some of these teachers had explored using works by Asian writers to teach about Asia. Other teachers among the evaluators were committed to using standard text materials from major publishers, but were interested in finding the best of such materials available.

While not practicing teachers, the other general readers had both a commitment to the educational goal of promoting empathy with Asian peoples and experience in working with the transmission of scholarly knowledge, including translations, to the schools and the general public.

REVIEW PROCEDURE

Of primary importance was the responsibility of the Asia Society staff for matching the material with the best possible reviewer for the material. Traditionally it had been the practice of the Asian Literature Program to get from one to three readings, including an in-house reading, on a single manuscript being considered for support. It was assumed that this practice would be applied to the evaluation of texts. However, as all texts went through the process of staff selection and matching text with reviewer, it became clear that many texts were so simple (or so simplified!) that more than one reading would be superfluous. Of the 306 texts, 23 turned out to be excerpts from larger hardback texts and also did not receive duplicate readings.

All books were examined by the staff to determine the extent of expertise necessary for evaluation and how extensive an evaluation would be required. It can be said that every book received one thorough reading, applying all the questions included in the questionnaire, from either a scholar or a general reader. An effort was made to obtain readings from both practicing teachers and different area specialists for each of a number of major works where the sophistication and content of the text warranted this. (Duplicate readings were limited by the number of available reviewers and funds available at the time readings were required.)

Eighty-two texts received more than one review from specialists, as many texts required, for example, a reading by a Japanese, Chinese, and Indian specialist. (This necessitated "ripping apart" texts; staff can attest to the durability of the textbook!) Fifty-nine texts were examined by two readers; thirteen by three readers; nine books by four readers; and one text by six readers.

FIRST FINDING

The first result of the project was related not to the textbooks but to the effect of the evaluation process on the reader. Teachers reported that the categories established in the questionnaire could be used in their work on local book selection committees. Authors, scholars, and scholar-translators also commented on its usefulness to their work:

> The questionnaire...makes explicit many of the polarities that I have often thought about in determining attitudes toward Asia, and is definitely thought-provoking.
> (Jonathan Chaves)

> I certainly thought that the whole project on evaluation was well worked out. I did not fully appreciate this until I began working through the books with your sheets of questions and guide. Just damn good clear hard-headed thinking-out of the job in advance. In my opinion, if you get good results from this project it will be much more because of the way you at Asia Society set up the job than because of any qualities we evaluators may have had. (I also like particularly the two cartoons you laid into the sheets--the danseuse in front of her kindergarten class, and the "You're forgetting one thing, Frank--Asia.")
> (William McNaughton)

> I like the new format of questions. Since I'm involved with film/video for GLCA, I've been viewing our media with a better eye now.
> (Harold Wright)

> The Evaluation Guideline is an excellent critical tool. It elicits the kind of comments that usually remain unvoiced, like whether or not comparisons between East and West are used to promote empathy or whether humanistic materials are properly used. The

> "Guideline" not only helps explain the ways in which test-books are bad, but it shows how they can be made good by avoiding the pitfalls of prejudicial assumptions. I hope other Orientalists, educators, and the textbook industry use it as a "conscience" when they produce and use text-books on Asia. I know that I will.
> (David Dell)

The effects of the process of the evaluation indicate the importance not only of evaluating the content of texts but also of "internalizing" the evaluation process.

II. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS WITH ASIAN CONTENT

Out of a total sample of 306 texts, 132 are hardback and 174 are paperback. In a smaller sample of 27 of the most widely distributed texts (based on a survey of adoption lists of 16 states and 11 cities), 23 are hardback and only 4 are paperback. This would seem to indicate that although many softcover books are available, they are not used as frequently as the standard hardbacks. Thirty of the books in this evaluation were made up entirely of excerpts from previously published texts; in most cases they had merely been reissued in a more innovative format. For example, the Asian material in Silver Burdett's hardcover world history text *The Human Achievement* was re-published in paperback as part of a "Culture Area Studies" series. The total number of publishers included in our sample is 37.

Year of Publication

The sample includes books in print from a 12-year span of publishing. The following chart shows how many books from the sample were published in each of the 12 years:

Chart 1

1963-	3	1970-	24
1964-	5	1971-	48
1965-	6	1972-	44
1966-	10	1973-	37
1967-	9	1974-	56
1968-	14	1975-	9
1969-	41		

Out of a total sample of 306 books, 94 were revised editions of earlier publications. Many of these revised editions were originally published in the 1950's and 39 were published before 1966. An additional 43 were originally published before 1971; the remaining 12 were first published in either 1971 or 1972.

Grade Level

Asia is introduced at all levels, but more frequently at the high school level as our sample indicates:

87 texts in the sample are elementary (grades K-6)
28 are intermediate (grades 5-8)
191 are for secondary schools (grades 7-12)

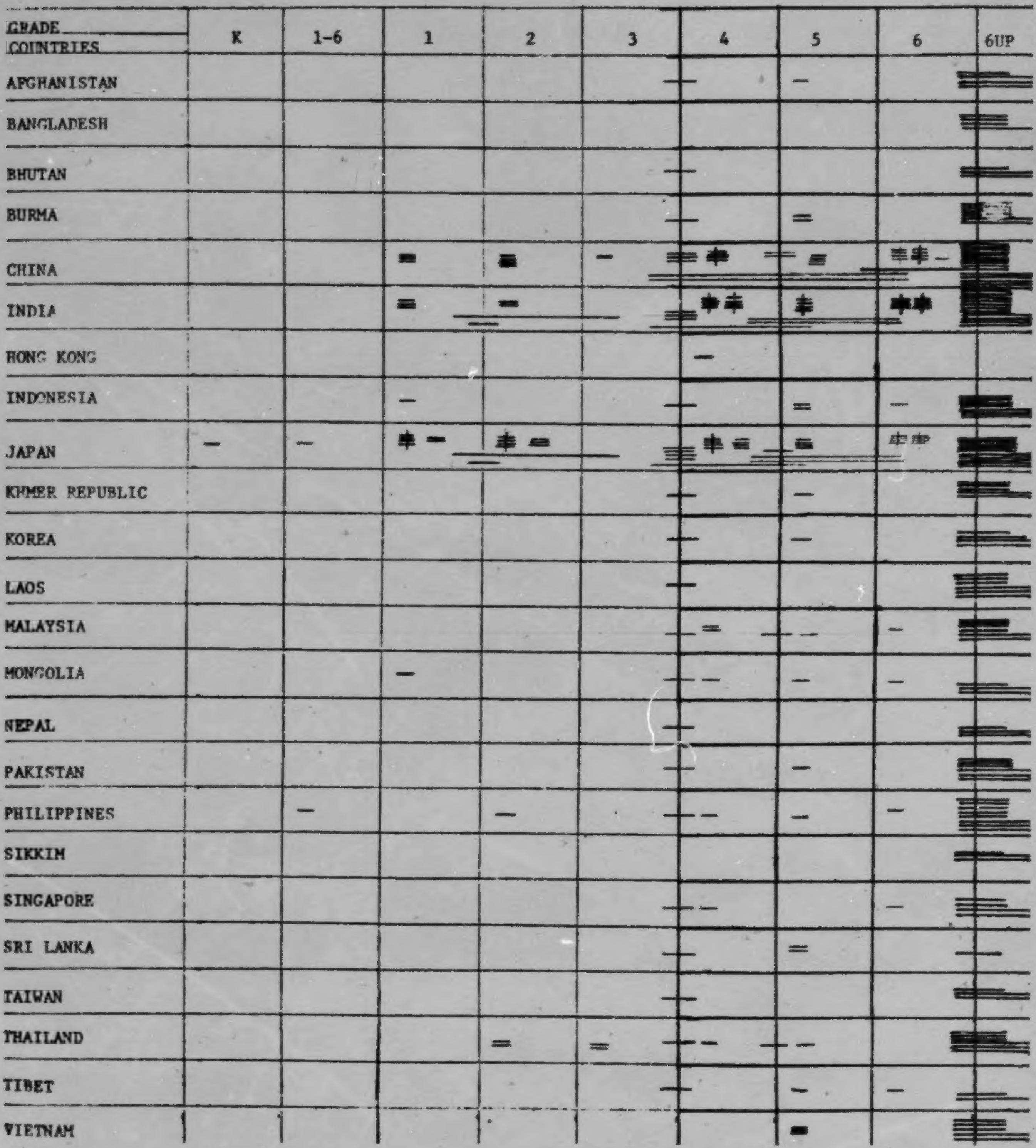
Degree of Asian Content

The degree of Asian content based on the total sample of 306 texts was 51.8 per cent. This includes, however, 128 texts that contain only material on Asia and therefore had a 100 per cent Asian content rating. In a separate sample of 42 world history texts, the degree of Asian content was only 15.6 per cent. This compares with 6.6 per cent African content, 34.6 per cent European content, and 7.4 per cent North American content. These percentages, of course, exclude South America, the Soviet Union, and the Middle East. A probable reason for the small percentage of North American content in world history texts is that students are given a separate year's course in American history.

Chart 2

DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN COUNTRIES IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS BY GRADE(K-6)
(Based on 113 texts from 21 publishers)

Each mark represents the inclusion of a country in a textbook. The "inclusion" may range anywhere from a sentence to a unit or an entire book.



DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN COUNTRIES IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS BY GRADE (7-12)

(Based on 222 texts from 35 publishers)

Each mark represents the mention of a country in a textbook.

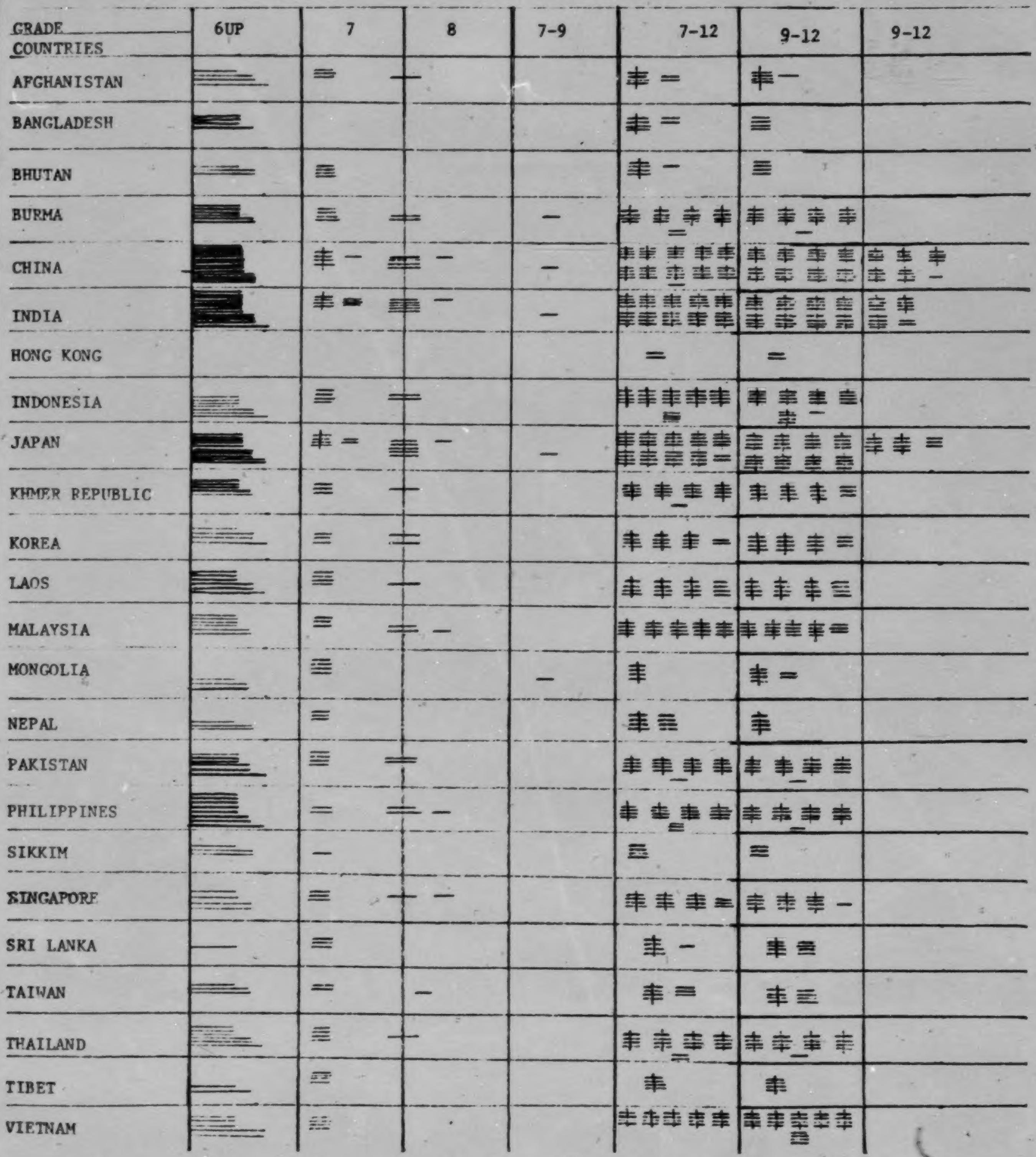


Chart 3 Distribution of Asian Countries by Grade

K-5		K-6up		7-12		Total	
Japan-	43	Japan-	63	China-	129	China-	178
India-	29	India-	51	India-	123	Japan-	177
China-	24	China-	49	Japan-	114	India-	174
Thailand-	8	Thailand	14	Indonesia-	60	Indonesia-	71
Malaysia-	5	Philippines-	14	Viet Nam-	58	Viet Nam-	67
Philippines-	5	Malaysia-	12	Malaysia-	54	Malaysia-	66
Indonesia-	4	Indonesia-	11	Burma-	50	Philippines-	64
Viet Nam-	4	Burma-	9	Philippines-	50	Thailand-	62
Mongolia-	4	Viet Nam-	9	Thailand-	48	Burma-	59
Burma-	3	Pakistan-	8	Pakistan-	48	Pakistan-	56
Sri Lanka-	3	Laos-	7	Laos-	43	Laos-	50
Afghanistan-	2	Cambodia-	7	Cambodia-	43	Cambodia-	50
Cambodia-	2	Mongolia-	7	Korea-	40	Korea-	46
Korea-	2	Singapore-	7	Singapore-	39	Singapore-	46
Pakistan-	2	Korea-	6	Taiwan-	20	Mongolia	25
Tibet-	2	Afghanistan-	6	Sri Lanka-	18	Taiwan-	24
Singapore-	2	Taiwan-	4	Afghanistan-	17	Afghanistan-	23
Laos-	1	Sri Lanka-	4	Mongolia-	17	Sri Lanka-	22
Nepal-	1	Nepal-	4	Nepal-	17	Nepal-	21
Taiwan-	1	Tibet-	4	Tibet-	14	Tibet-	18
Bhutan-	1	Bhutan-	4	Bhutan-	18	Bhutan-	18
Hong Kong-	1	Bangladesh-	4	Bangladesh-	11	Bangladesh-	15
Sikkim-	0	Sikkim-	3	Sikkim-	8	Sikkim-	11
Bangladesh-	0	Hong Kong-	1	Hong Kong-	4	Hong Kong-	5

The three Asian countries that receive the most thorough treatment at all levels are China, Japan, and India. It is interesting to note that above the fifth grade level, where students are frequently introduced to more complex concepts, there is a dramatic rise in attention to China (from 24 to 49--an increase of 104 per cent), while attention to Japan (47 per cent increase) and India (76 per cent increase) grows more moderately. This trend continues in the 7-12 grade texts, where China is the country covered most frequently. The fact that Japan is by far the most thoroughly treated country in K-5 and is steadily less frequently covered thereafter may be attributable to the fact that it is often considered a "safe" country to discuss with younger children--just the proper blend of familiar Western characteristics and "exotic Oriental customs."

Types of Texts

There is considerable variety in the types of texts with Asian content. While some are meant to introduce Asia, others are designed to introduce a subject or discipline. The following chart breaks down the sample by type in order of frequency.

Chart 4

Social Studies--101 books

> A wide range of books falls into the category of general social studies texts. On the elementary level, social studies books often teach about citizenship and rules of family and community life. The Asian material is used to illustrate the ideas presented in the texts. Some texts, like Laidlaw's Using the Social Studies (Asian content .002 per cent), introduce Asia in one paragraph in the context of American trade relations while others devote an entire unit to either China or Japan. This type of text is used much more frequently at the elementary level than in high schools. Out of 101 books from our sample in this category, 86 are elementary and only 15 are secondary.

Asian Area Studies--83 books

Asian area studies texts are found more frequently at the secondary than the elementary level: of 83 books in this category, 72 are secondary and 11 are elementary. The elementary area studies are generally paperback excerpts from hardcover social studies texts; they usually focus on only one region. The majority of the Asian area studies texts are interdisciplinary, but tend to emphasize a chronological, historical approach.

World Histories--49 books

48 of 49 world history texts in the sample are for the secondary level. Most of them take a standard chronological approach. However, there are two innovative ones, Rand McNally's World History Through Inquiry and Houghton Mifflin's The Human Experience, which are collections of topical readings. Unlike most readings, these are not supplementary but are meant to be the core of a history program.

Readings--48 books

It appears that readings are not known to be available for elementary students as all the collections of readings in the sample are for the secondary level. 36 of these 48 books are Asian area studies readings. They tend to be interdisciplinary, drawing upon the fields of history, sociology, religion, fine arts, anthropology, and international relations. Of these, historical readings dominate.

Geographies--18 books

Geographies used to be widespread at the elementary level but, for the most part, they have now been replaced by general social studies. Of the 18, only 6 are elementary while 12 are secondary. Most of the geographies in our sample are standard; however, there is one innovative type--MacMillan's The High School Geography Project: Japan.

Religion--3 books

The only three religion texts in the evaluation are Ginn's The Many Faces of Religion, Silver Burdett's World Religions, and Allyn and Bacon's Four World Views. Two of these are secondary and one is elementary.

Anthropology--1 book

The sole example of this type of book is MacMillan's Modernization and Traditional Societies, which was prepared by the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project of the American Anthropology Association.

Chart 5 Disciplines

Disciplines Reported by Readers:	Number of Books Reported by Readers as Drawing Upon this Discipline
History	159
Geography	107
Sociology	102
Economics	97
Anthropology	69
Political Science	61
Humanities	34
Religion	23
Fine Arts	8
Philosophy	8
Social Psychology	6
Government	6
Literature	5
Culture	5
Contemporary Events	2
Civics	2
Interdisciplinary	2
Music	1
Archaeology	1
Biography	1
Language Arts	1
Education	1

It is possible to group the various disciplines found in the texts in four categories. The traditional social studies, history and geography, are still dominant in texts evaluated for this project and appear in 159 and 107 texts respectively. The second category is composed of the following social sciences: sociology, economics, anthropology, and political science. The third broad category includes the humanities, which appear less frequently than history, geography, and the major social sciences but more often some other social sciences such as social psychology and education (the fourth category).

As Chart 6 illustrates (see p. 26), history and geography appeared with roughly the same frequency as the four dominant social sciences (anthropology, economics, sociology, and political science) in books published between 1965 and 1968. However, between 1968 and 1975, these four social sciences began to move ahead of history and geography and as a group become the dominant disciplines in the texts.*

Chart 6 also indicates a great incidence of drawing upon the humanities in the more recently published books. More attention to the humanities is reflected in 1969 and 1974. The 1969 increase can probably be attributed to the publication of the 15-volume series of pamphlets in Addison Wesley's (Field) Asian Studies Inquiry Program. The increase in 1974 could be due to the publication of the Praeger Through Asian Eyes series.

These statistics demonstrate that there are many dimensions of textbooks to analyze. This evaluation will focus on: accuracy and authenticity, underlying approaches and assumptions, the uses of Asian literature, religion and the arts, style and tone, sexism, format and illustrations, overall ratings, and qualifications of authors and consultants.

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*These results are indicative, but not definitive. A thorough examination of the trends in textbooks over the last 12 years would depend on an analysis of all books in print in each of the 12 years. This may no longer be practical or possible.

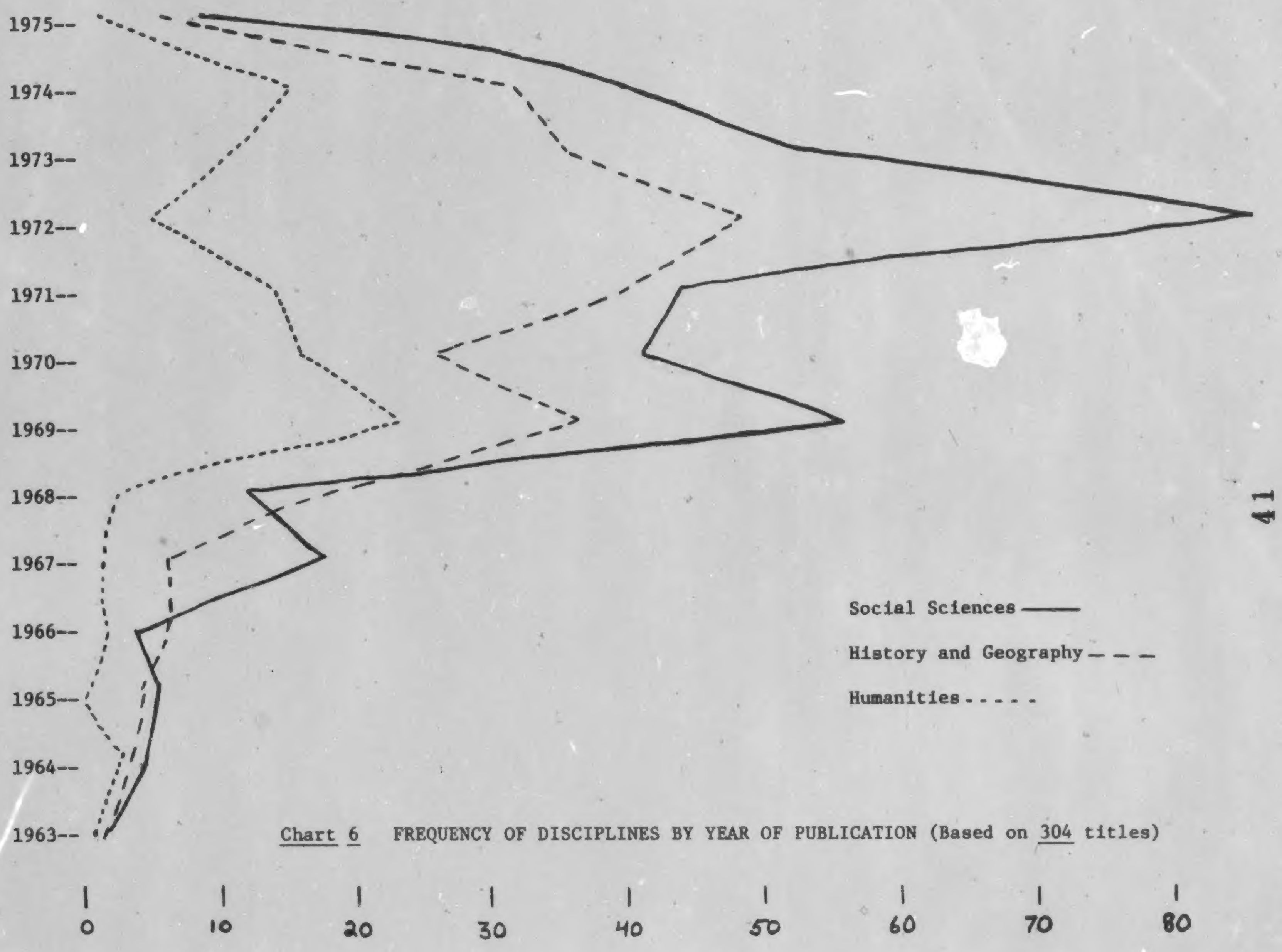

Chart 6 FREQUENCY OF DISCIPLINES BY YEAR OF PUBLICATION (Based on 304 titles)

III. ACCURACY AND AUTHENTICITY (Based on 97 texts)

A. INTRODUCTION

As this quote from one scholar so aptly illustrates, defining accuracy is not simple:

> Accuracy is difficult to define. On p. 10, for example, the opening paragraphs speak of South Asia as a land where tigers and leopards roam, where the cobra is "the hooded terror of India." This is true--in a misleading way. It would be as accurate as describing the U.S. as a country where wild deer, bear, and rattlesnakes roam.
> (Ainslie Embree on _The People of South Asia_, Sadlier, 1973)

The facts may be, strictly speaking, true and yet the overall impression created may be false. Accuracy is considerably more than just getting the facts straight. Therefore, this report will deal with accuracy _and_ authenticity.

This section is based on scholar reports on 97 texts and points out the types of inaccuracies or inauthenticities that appear in them. Detailed lists of inaccuracies are in the individual reports.

Scholars were asked to evaluate the accuracy of each text for factual information, foreign terms, and sources. The instructions were to identify each instance of inaccuracy by listing appropriate examples from the texts. It was expected that each scholar would not only indicate that a given statement was inaccurate, but would then suggest how it could be corrected. While most of the scholars responded to the questionnaire according to the guidelines, a few did not, and this made it somewhat difficult to quantify the results. The reports also made it evident that the scholars themselves had differing standards of acceptability. Some took issue with the texts on points of minute detail while others seemed to expect less and were consequently not as rigorous in their evaluation. In some cases, the scholars were less demanding than the general readers, many of whom were currently using the texts in their classrooms.

In addition to listing the examples of inaccuracies and inauthenticities, each reviewer was asked to rate the overall level of accuracy and authenticity in each book. On the basis of reports on 97 texts, the ratings were as follows:

poor	24
fair	26
good	26
excellent	21

B. TYPES OF INACCURACY AND INAUTHENTICITY

The various types of inaccuracy that were found in the texts will be discussed under the following categories:

1. FACTUAL INACCURACIES
2. INACCURACY AS A RESULT OF A FRAGMENTED OR SUPERFICIAL TREATMENT OF A TOPIC
3. INACCURACY THROUGH WESTERN FRAMEWORKS AND QUESTIONS
4. INACCURACY IN THE USE OF FOREIGN TERMS
5. INACCURACY IN THE DEFINITION OF FOREIGN TERMS
6. INACCURACY IN THE MISSPELLING OF FOREIGN WORDS
7. INACCURACY THROUGH THE USE OF OUTDATED MATERIALS
8. INACCURACY THROUGH OMISSION
9. INACCURATE AND INAUTHENTIC ILLUSTRATIONS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

1. FACTUAL INACCURACIES

It would serve no useful purpose to discuss every single example of factual inaccuracy. A few examples, though, will be mentioned to show the common types of factual errors that appear in the texts.

India

Inaccuracy: The Khilafat movement was focused primarily on the rights of Indian Muslims.
Scholar Comment: The Khilafat movement was focused on the effort to convince the Great Powers not to abolish the Caliphate in Turkey.
(Richard Tucker on Class and Caste in Village India, Addison Wesley, 1969)

Inaccuracy: The Bhagavad Gita is the basic book of Hinduism.
Scholar Comment: The Gita is one of Hinduism's important philosophical texts.
(Richard Tucker on Class and Caste in Village India, Addison Wesley, 1969)

Inaccuracy: The practice of suttee was common throughout Asia.
Scholar Comment: Suttee was never common in any country except India; it is not practiced at all today.
(Jonathan Chaves on Asia, Addison Wesley, 1969)

Inaccuracy: Bengal is a province.
Scholar Comment: Bengal is a state.
(Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972)

Inaccuracy: Bombay is a state.
Scholar Comment: Not since the British left; it is now only the name of the city.
(Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972)

Inaccuracy: Aurangzeb wanted to convert all Hindus to Islam.
Scholar Comment: Aurangzeb was an orthodox Muslim ruler whose policies put new taxes and other liabilities on Hindus. To say more than this is to exaggerate.
(Leonard Gordon on India and Southeast Asia, Fideler, 1972)

Inaccuracy: Hyderabad is one of the states of India.
Scholar Comment: Hyderabad has not been a state since 1954. It is now only the name of a city.
(Richard Tucker on Eurasia, Ginn, 1969)

Inaccuracy: The Indian states have governors, just as the American states do.
Scholar Comment: The officials in India that correspond most closely to American governors are the Chief Ministers of the various states.
(Ainslie Embree on Culture Regions in the Eastern Hemisphere, D. C. Heath, 1971)

Inaccuracy: The Brahmaputra is a tributary of the Ganges.
Scholar Comment: The Brahmaputra forms one of the great river systems in Asia.
(Ainslie Embree on The People of South Asia, Sadlier, 1973)

Inaccuracy: Purdah is observed generally throughout South Asia.
Scholar Comment: Purdah is not generally observed throughout South Asia.
(Ainslie Embree on The People of South Asia, Sadlier, 1973)

Inaccuracy: The names Parsi, Sikh, and Jat refer to racial divisions in India.
Scholar Comment: They are regional and cultural distinctions that have nothing to do with race.
(Leonard Gordon on India, Oxford, 1971)

Inaccuracy: Kabir was the founder of the Sikh religion.
Scholar Comment: Guru Nanak was the founder of the Sikh religion.
(J. F. Richards on The Ecumene, Harper & Row, 1973)

Inaccuracy: Almost all Muslims in South Asia are in Pakistan or Bangladesh.
Scholar Comment: Not all Muslims in South Asia live in Pakistan or Bangladesh since 50 million of them still live in India.
(Ainslie Embree on The People of South Asia, Sadlier, 1973)

Inaccuracy: The Buddha rejected the concepts of Hinduism.
Scholar Comment: The Buddha retained many essential concepts of Hinduism including samsara, moksha, and karma.
(Donald Johnson on India: Focus on Change, Prentice-Hall, 1975)

Japan

Inaccuracy: Between 1185 and 1868, the capital of Japan was at different places at different times. It was the practice to change the capital when an emperor died.
Scholar Comment: This shift did not happen after 710.
(Harold Wright on How People Live in Japan, Benefic, 1972)

Inaccuracy: Zen originated in Japan.
Scholar Comment: It originated in China where it was called Chan Buddhism.
(Jonathan Chaves on Asia, Addison Wesley, 1969)

Inaccuracy: The Japanese took the arts of chanoyu, ikebana, kabuki, origami, and haiku from Chinese, Korean, and Indian sources and refined them.
Scholar Comment: While Chinese cultural influences have contributed to their development, the genius of these particular arts is Japanese.
(Marshall R. Pihl, China-Japan-Korea, Cambridge, 1971)

Inaccuracy: There are at least 50,000 Ainu on the island of Hokkaido.
Scholar Comment: There are at most 17,000 Ainu on the island of Hokkaido.
(Herbert Passin on Eurasia, Ginn, 1969)

Inaccuracy: Japan's leading industry is textile manufacturing.
Scholar Comment: Japan's leading industry is electrical and other machinery.
(Herbert Passin on Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971)

Inaccuracy: The conservative samurai thought music and dance were undignified.
Scholar Comment: The samurai were great devotees of classical music and dance.
(Roland Lange on Japan, MacMillan, 1970)

Inaccuracy: The Japanese make a ceremony of tea drinking.
Scholar Comment: The tea ceremony is a special ritual engaged in on special occasions; most of the time when the Japanese drink tea, they do not make a ceremony of it.
(Herbert Passin on Eurasia, Ginn, 1969)

Inaccuracy: Most Japanese are Buddhists, others are Shintoists.
Scholar Comment: Most Japanese are both. Most sects of Buddhism and all of Shintoism are non-exclusive, so that people tend to be both.
(Herbert Passin on Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971)

Inaccuracy: The Ainu can be distinguished by their bushy hair and long beards.
Scholar Comment: The Ainu used to let their hair and beards grow, but at the present time they tend to be clean shaven like the Japanese and therefore, you would not notice these "characteristics" of bushy hair and long beards.
(Herbert Passin on *Eurasia*, Ginn, 1969)

China

Inaccuracy: Little of artistic or literary value was produced during the Six Dynasties period.
Scholar Comment: The Six Dynasties period was a golden age of poetry, literary criticism, and Buddhist art.
(Jonathan Chaves & John Meskill on *China-Japan-Korea*, Cambridge, 1971)

Inaccuracy: The main island off China has been renamed Taiwan.
Scholar Comment: Taiwan has always been the Chinese name for it. The Portuguese called it Formosa.
(Marshall R. Pihl, *China-Japan-Korea*, Cambridge, 1971)

Inaccuracy: All people must learn the standard speech of Peking in order to understand one another.
Scholar Comment: The system of Chinese writing makes it possible for two Chinese to communicate with one another in writing, even if they speak no mutually intelligible dialect. This is a unique feature of the Chinese writing system (one which is frequently neglected, ignored, and overlooked).
(William McNaughton on *How People Live in China*, Benefic, 1971)

Inaccuracy: The modern Chinese language is monosyllabic.
Scholar Comment: In recent years, scholars have been asserting that Chinese is largely disyllabic.
(William McNaughton on *China*, Houghton Mifflin, 1972)

2. INACCURACY AS A RESULT OF A FRAGMENTED OR SUPERFICIAL TREATMENT OF A TOPIC

Scholars reported that the main subjects receiving superficial and fragmented treatment are caste, India's cows, Hinduism, early

Indian history, Confucianism, and Taoism. Other problems stem from a stereotyped image of Japan as "a crowded land."

Caste

An overwhelming majority of the scholars reviewing texts on India expressed general dissatisfaction with treatments of the caste system. In view of the preponderance of negative comments, it was decided that a comprehensive evaluation of textbook treatments of this subject would be valuable. The following discussion on caste was done by the noted anthropologist McKim Marriott of the University of Chicago. Similar evaluations on other troublesome topics commonly presented in texts could be done for the future use of publishers and textbook authors.

Evaluations of Textbook Treatments of The Indian Caste System

Poor Quality

> I have inspected the collection of 27 current textbook treatments of caste in South Asia with distressing results. Two-thirds of the texts (18 out of 27) are filled with factual fallacies (some of which are listed below) and seem to me wholly devoid of social scientific value. Four-fifths of the texts seem to me definitely negative and damaging in their educational effects, setting the reader in opposition to the materials and alienating him from the subject civilization. Only nine of the texts* offer some fragments of accurate understanding along with common errors

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*Those of Hauser et al. (American Book), Tudisco (Field), Stavrianos (Follett), Brandwein et al. (Harcourt Brace), Davis et al. (Macmillan), Holmes (Praeger), Johnson and Johnson (Praeger), Garbarino (Rand McNally), Petrovich and Curtin (Silver Burdett).

and misunderstandings, and in only five of these nine texts* could one say that positive and accurate understandings are evenly balanced with negative and erroneous information. Only one text (Johnson and Johnson for Praeger) seems to me adequate and largely correct, but I think it is written for more advanced, sophisticated audiences. It could not be used successfully in elementary schools and is too confusing and unsure of itself for most high schools. My finding is thus that there is no suitable treatment of caste in this collection of 27 texts.

This negative finding is distressing enough in itself, but is all the more regrettable for what it says of our system for transmitting scholarly knowledge. After a century of Indian censuses and ethnologies, and after a generation of modern anthropological and sociological research and publication by a hundred scholars of Indian caste, only 4 of these 27 texts show evidence of more than the remotest acquaintance with any results of such research. Eighty-five per cent of the authors and consultants seem to conceive their jobs as mainly the rephrasing of ancient textbook conceptions, however unverified. Several--those cursed by a little naive personal experience of India--go one step backward and present misunderstood anecdotes in what should be the place of well researched information. Others go two steps backward to fabricate fantasies to fill in for their ignorance of even the most obvious scholarly references. Thus Davis et al. imagine that "animal handling" is regarded as a "low" occupation but James et al. suppose, on the contrary, that the Aryan herdsmen had to be persuaded that farming was not beneath their dignity; both authors are mistaken since the Vedic peoples demonstrably take pride both in herding and in farming. Although the average population of a caste in a village is easily ascertainable as about 50-75 persons, both Davis et al. and Kublin imagine it to be in the hundreds. Looking straight at a photo of a typical rural feast, one incompetent author interprets it as a picture of low-caste men engaged in a "hunt for food among the dogs"; looking at a famous temple in Orissa, she tells us that it is located on the Ganges in Banaras, hundreds of miles away.

Negative Bias

Given such levels of misinformation and ignorance, one should not be surprised to find that bias and distortion also have full sway. The tone of one-quarter of the extracts is openly hostile to Indian social institutions. Some are said to present dysfunctional "social problems" of great gravity, others are castigated as bad, or even "intolerable." Indians are described as undemocratic, lacking in ambition, uncooperative, and uninterested in reform or change. Whatever we in the U.S. would like to imagine ourselves ideally to be, the caste-bound Indian society is pictured as its dreadful opposite. We are at the zenith; they are at our nadir.

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*Stavrianos (Follett), Holmes (Praeger), Johnson and Johnson (Praeger), Garbarino (Rand McNally), Petrovich and Curtin (Silver Burdett).

Another two-thirds of the extracts are less instantly and explicitly hostile to Indian social institutions, but offer supposed (but often mistaken) generalities whose biased selection carries the negative message. An obsessive focus on caste as the only, or the only important kind of social institution in South Asia is evident in a large majority of the texts (per contra, see fallacy no. 3, below). As soon as they have sketched what they regard as the negative features of the caste system, most authors shift immediately to their seccond favorite obession: untouchability. That topic receives generally about one-fifth of all wordage, and as much as one-third in some accounts.

Social Science Losses

Readers of these 27 texts have little opportunity to evaluate the caste system in other than negative terms, since nearly all the authors exclude any discussion of its possible rationality, either external or internal. Only two authors make a gesture toward mentioning possible functional, rather than dysfunctional effects of a caste division of labor. In restricting their explorations of caste's possible internal conceptual rationality to reiteration of the bizarre "religious" notion of reincarnation or transmigration (which is in fact an inessential justification, not commonly heard among Indians), all the authors seem to deprive their readers of the opportunity for a sympathetic understanding of the caste system. They thus also lose the possibility of a major social science objective--making the alien and incomprehensible comprehensible by seeing its inner workings.

Systematic explanation of caste as seen and lived in by Indians is available through far simpler, and more universal propositions than the theory of reincarnation or transmigration. Full exploration of the implications of deep Indian assumptions such as the following could go a long way toward accomplishing the needed understanding: "You are what you eat or perceive," "What you do is what you are," "Rules are inside the nature of everything," "Each thing unique, but all can share some particles from a common origin," etc. A thorough consideration of such notions, simple to grasp in themselves (although sometimes opposed to our "common sense"), could be extended to show them generative of most of the baffling features of caste systems.

Common Fallacies

From eight to fifteen of the following nineteen errors occur in two-thirds of the texts:

1. Wrong: *Caste is an old Indian concept* defining ranked, hereditary endogamous occupational groups.

   Right: *Caste is a recent European concept* foreign to India, developed mainly by outside observers during the past hundred years, to point to contrasts of Indian behavior with recent European ideals of equality, mobility, and progress.

2. Wrong: *Caste was a Hindu law or rule*: the system of occupational groups ("castes") was felt to have been established by deliberate divine or human command, legislation, contract, or conspiracy, and was binding on everyone.

   Right: *Caste is part of natural history as seen by Hindus*: The differing original material natures, or "births" of all things in which various coded behaviors (*dharma*) are inherent, are thought by Hindus to be naturally developed scientific or historical moral facts. There is no Hindu idea of law apart from various natures, therefore no one general code in all.

3. Wrong: *Heredity, endogamy (in-marrying), rank, and occupation are necessarily coincidental* in Indian concept and in the groupings called "castes."

   Right: *The constituents are separable*. By Indian concepts and practice (*jati* = "birth, origin, genus" and *varna* = "original genus"--terms defining species, races, families, regional, religious, and linguistic categories, all seen as biological genera), heredity and marriage are not necessarily coincidental with occupation, or with rank in human affairs. Marriage may occur among persons of different heredity. Many occupations are non-hereditary. Rank pertains to all relationships, not only to those between persons of different heredity or occupation.

4. Wrong: *Hereditary occupations are compulsory* for all members of each caste group, and are monopolized by the groups: thus all Brahmans and only Brahmans do rituals, all and only Washermen wash, Cooks cook, Earthmovers move earth, Earcleaners clean ears, etc.

   Right: *Most occupations are optional*: thus there are professional priests, washermen, cooks, agricultural workers, etc., etc, within many hereditary, endogamous groups, and in all groups, anyone may do such jobs for himself; options for practicing an occupation commercially are limited mainly by competing groups' interests.

As far back as we know, in most castes no one "caste occupation" has been practiced even by a majority of households.

5. Wrong: A caste system makes for a segregated society, in which persons of different occupations avoid each other.

Right: A caste system makes for a division of labor, a high degree of interdependence, requiring frequent exchange.

6. Wrong: A caste system prevents solidarity and cooperation and destroys a sense of community by promoting differences and segregation of economic classes.

Right: A caste system promotes solidarity by requiring exchange and a distribution of food and other resources among households of different occupational castes and economic classes.

7. Wrong: Persons cannot change rank, and do not compete, since caste is the total status system, membership is hereditary, and deviance is punished.

Right: Persons can change rank, since birth defines only a part of personal status and rank. Persons fall rapidly within and between castes, and rise through effort and competition.

8. Wrong: Castes cannot rise or fall in rank, since their positions are fixed in sacred law, and are noncompetitive.

Right: Castes rise and fall according to explicit principles or competitive exchange in marriage, food distribution and work.

9. Wrong: Caste is a "religious" institution, oriented to sacred things and to transmigration after death. It is not directly expressive of this-worldly, secular (political, economic) forces, although it may have been caused by them and may be vulnerable to disruption by them.

Right: "Religious" and "secular" are not distinguishable in Indian institutions, which are explicitly concerned with divinity, morality, power, and materiality, all at once. Belief in transmigration is not logically essential to the caste system, and is not explicitly espoused by all.

10. Wrong: Hindu caste. Caste is found only among Indians of Hindu religion.

Right: South Asian caste. Caste is found among South Asians of all religions.

11. Wrong: Caste uniform. North Indian, Hindu or Aryan institutions provide a uniform system of caste.

Right: Caste variants. Linguistic (Dravidian, Austric, etc.), tribal, regional, sectarian (Sikh, Varaśava, etc.), devotional, religious (Jain, Buddhist, Islamic), and positional variants of caste are prominent features of the system itself.

12. Wrong: The "rigidity" of caste has resisted change and discouraged rebellion or deviance, yet may "break down" under modern stresses.

Right: Castes and their relationships have been in constant flux, leading to much variation. The underlying principles are readily adapted to modern conditions.

13. Wrong: The four "varnas" are "classes" or "main castes" that have endured in separation for 3500 years, each undergoing fission into thousands of "subcastes."

Right: The four "varnas" provide a pattern of relationships of exchange among thousands of castes variously originating by external accretion and fusion as well as internal fission and mixture.

14. Wrong: Aryan color-consciousness caused caste system: the Aryans' distinctively fair physique and their color preferences gave rise to the system of caste segregation.

Right: Aryan color-consciousness in unknown. "Aryan" means "elite" users of the Vedic language; their color and that of "non-Aryan" language speakers is unknown. Later Aryan code books contemplate complex patterns of inter-varna marriage in which color is not mentioned.

15. Wrong: "Untouchables" are "outcastes"--persons ejected from their original castes who therefore no longer belong to any caste.

Right: "Untouchable" refers to any of the lowest castes and anyone capable of polluting the speaker. Some castes--not necessarily the lowest--are recruited from among persons ejected by their original castes.

16. Wrong: Commensalism: Caste members are especially concerned about whom they eat with.

Right: Greatest concern is with the source of food, cooking, and serving--from whom they eat.

17. Wrong: Vegetarianism is a caste rule practiced by all Brahmans or all Hindus.

Right: Vegetarianism is practiced by about 60 per cent of Hindus, more by higher than lower ranking castes (but not by all Brahman castes), more by women than by men.

18. Wrong: "Brahma" is the God with whom all Hindus wish, and high-caste Hindus expect, to be united after death.

Right: "Brahma" is the name of one of many Hindu gods, a god little worshipped today; brahman is the unmanifest divine protoplasm with whom unity is sought through self-extinction by followers of Vedantic philosophy.

19. Wrong: Gautama Buddha opposed the caste system, gave up his own caste, thought the system wrong.

Right: Gautama Buddha thought birth irrelevant to the state, to learning, and to philosophic enlightment, but recognized moral differences among the castes as natural facts.

India's "Sacred Cows"

> "India's cattle population is a huge drain on the country's food supply. The Hindu's refusal to kill cattle or to eat meat for religious reasons as well as to ban cattle slaughter results in an unusually long life span for animals. The animal population is estimated at 160 million cattle and 50 million buffalo. India has more cattle than any other country in the world. It is not unusual to see cattle roaming through fields of rice, corn, or millet, eating as much as they want. Cows are sacred in the Hindu religion, therefore, few people disturb them."

The above quotation is only one example of many found in texts dealing with India, but it is typical in its characterization of cows as unproductive and parasitic animals that take food out of the mouths of starving people. As Professor Marvin Harris points out in his article, "The Cultural Ecology of Indian Sacred Cattle."* cattle play a vital role in Indian economic life by providing the major source of labor for plowing, hauling, irrigation, and transport; they also provide dung, which is essential as fuel and fertilizer, and are a crucial source of protein for India's Muslims (over 50 million) as well as for the many low-caste Hindus who do eat beef. The notion that cows are allowed to graze freely amidst fields of valuable food grains is simply not true: the vast bulk of their diet consists of chaff and other agricultural by-products not fit for human consumption.

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*Marvin Harris. "The Cultural Ecology of India's Sacred Cattle." Current Anthropology, Volume 7, Number 1 (Feb. 1966).

Hinduism

Scholars have pointed out that caste and pollution are frequently overemphasized in the discussions of Hinduism:

> Hinduism is seen almost entirely in terms of caste--reading this book one can appreciate the Indian dislike of foreign emphasis on this feature of Indian society. The treatment is simplistic, misleading, and moralistic in a most old-fashioned way.
> (Ainslie Embree on Culture Regions in the Eastern Hemisphere, D. C. Heath, 1971)

As another scholar has noted, such a narrow focus creates a severe distortion by neglecting the rich artistic and ritualistic aspects of Hinduism:

> Under devotional practices, nothing is said about bathing, mudras, gifts, use of the mantra, music, daily obligations, care of images, temple worship, pilgrimages. There is nothing about gurus. Adhikara (the notion that all people have a religion that fits their spiritual competence and rise to higher religious insight as their insight increases) is useful background for helping students understand Hinduism. What about dharma? A Hindu would be amazed that it was not mentioned. Avidya--ignorance--must be understood to understand the way of life of Hinduism.

> The epics and their role were never clarified. There is no hint of the importance of the natural world for Hindus. The facts about the gods would be better understood if something were said about the concept of ishtadevata, the chosen deity. The mantra is not merely a charm; the concept of the mantra is fundamental to understanding Hinduism, but it was dismissed with an erroneous definition. There is no hint of the importance of music and art in Hinduism.
> (Kenneth Morgan on The Many Faces of Religion, Ginn, 1973)

Other inaccuracies are caused by biased and negative stereotypes of Indians. Here is one example cited by a scholar who seemed incredulous that such a statement could have been written:

> "The lack of absolutes in Hinduism shows up in a disregard for time, apathy towards work and...carelessness. These attitudes are considered normal and proper by most Indians." This statement is unbelievable. What an insult to any people to say their religion creates apathy towards work and carelessness!
> (Donald Johnson on India: Focus on Change, Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 40)

> The author exaggerates the extent to which Hinduism lays down rules for everyday life, p. 63. He makes it appear that Indians are stuffed dummies for whom every step in life is laid out. He gives summaries of Hindu texts and these should be put in chronological order but they are mixed up in a confusing order, pp. 65-67.
> (Leonard Gordon on India, Oxford, 1971)

Early Indian History

Nearly every text on India begins its section on ancient Indian history with the story of a war between the "blue-eyed Aryans" and the "dark-skinned Dravidians" in the northwest, in which the Dravidians were defeated and forced to flee to the south. Almost everything about this version of early Indian history is inaccurate. First, the terms "Aryan" and "Dravidian" are linguistic, not racial distinctions, although they are commonly misused, even by scholars in the field. Second, there is no evidence that the Aryans were responsible for the decline of the Harappan civilization. Professor Ralph Nicholas explains an alternative hypothesis which he says has largely replaced the outdated one about a war between the two peoples:

> The best hypothesis concerning the decline of the Indus civilization is that the Harappan people over-irrigated their land and brought up sub-soil salt, leaving the land saline. The cities were depopulated because their main hinterland was unproductive. Subsequent generations lived in the once-grand cities as squatters until someone invaded and killed those who remained.
> (Ralph Nicholas on _South Asia_: _India_, Noble and Noble, 1974, p. 230)

Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism

Scholars have reported that these beliefs, like Hinduism, are frequently not dealt with in sufficient depth and are also not discussed in a balanced way. There is, for some reason, a tendency to deemphasize the significance of Taoism in the history of Chinese thought, as this scholar points out:

> After summarizing the _Tao Te Ching_, the author says "...whether or not these ideas affected Chinese thought, they were opposed to the ideas of Confucianism." I don't believe this one....The ideas of Taoism were of central importance throughout Chinese intellectual history.
> (Jonathan Chaves on _China-Japan-Korea_, Cambridge, 1971, p. 54)

A common distortion is a subtle, perhaps unintentional condescension on the part of the author towards the "irrational" spirituality that is said to be characteristic of Asia:

> "Confucianism is considered the main religion of Korea." Confucianism is not a religion: It speaks of no God, no afterlife, no mysticism. It is not metaphysical.

> The emphasis of Confucianism is almost exclusively ethical.
> (Marshall R. Pihl on Japan and Korea, Oxford, 1972, p. 75)

> Except for a paragraph on the role of Buddhism in early Japanese clan politics (p. 171) and one on Christianity and feudal Japan's policy toward foreigners (pp. 174-175), the descriptions do not go far beyond answering such questions as "When was Buddhism introduced?" or "What were the main points of Taoist philosophy?" and so forth. The book does not get into the social role of these beliefs, the people who held them, the means of transmission and dissemination, their expression in the influence upon literature and the arts, or other such people-oriented areas of concern.
> (Marshall R. Pihl on China-Japan-Korea, Cambridge, 1971)

Stereotyped Japan

A common image is "Japan as a crowded land." (Even an enrichment activity--the tea ceremony--is used to reinforce the crowded land image by suggesting that the tea ceremony demonstrates the need for rules in a crowded country!)* Quite often such a characterization is given without sufficient explanation of comparable population density statistics in other countries:

> Page 61, speaking of the crowding of Japan: "People are crowded onto small plains," and the implication is of an extremely crowded country, that is to say, great density of population. This is true in a way but it should be placed in perspective. Japan's population density runs about 728 per square mile, but Italy is higher than that (about 756 p.s.m.), and Belgium, with 931 p.s.m., is higher than that. So is the Netherlands with 1,040, Taiwan with 1,102, Bangladesh with almost 1,410, and so on....The formulation here leaves the impression that Japan is the most crowded place in the world, although it doesn't specifically say that.
> (Herbert Passin on Eurasia, Ginn, 1969)

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*Man & His Families, Benefic, 1971, teacher's guide, p. 134

3. INACCURACY THROUGH THE IMPOSITION OF WESTERN QUESTIONS AND FRAMEWORKS

This type of inaccuracy comes up most often in discussions on religion. Sometimes it seems to stem from the authors' attempts to put Asian philosophic concepts into neat Western categories when they simply do not fit. Other times, it seems to be based on a fear that students will not understand the material unless it is related to something they are familiar with (e.g. Christianity!). For the most part, scholars who reviewed the texts tended to be unsympathetic to the authors' attempts to "simplify things" by using Christian concepts to explain Asian religious phenomena. They pointed to the following examples as being particularly inappropriate.

Buddhism

> Buddha's inquiries: Who am I? Where did I come from? etc. are strictly Western questions. The Buddha was asking what is real, what is true, how should a human being live?
> (Kenneth Morgan on Buddhism, Addison Wesley, 1969)

> The "period of Lent" is simply not applicable to Buddhism.
> (Kenneth Morgan on Buddhism, Addison Wesley, 1969)

> "Koans" are not "riddles," and Zen does not talk of "salvation."
> (Kenneth Morgan on Buddhism, Addison Wesley, 1969)

> The Buddha is called a "savior"....That word cannot be used with Westerners because of the Christian connotations which make it almost impossible under the Mahayana views of the Buddha.
> (Kenneth Morgan on Four World Views, Allyn & Bacon, 1971)

Hinduism

> "The cow is sacred to Hindus." Isenberg unthoughtfully repeats virtually every Western author's stereotype...in one of the most lurid fascinations of Hinduism to the West, without trying to explain what "sacred" means. It is a complex issue; the only simple statement we can reliably make is that Hindus will not willingly do violence

> towards the street cows. There is a religious rationale behind it, but individual Hindus disagree about what that rationale is, and it is not religious or sacred in anything like the Western sense of these terms.
> (Richard Tucker on The Indian Subcontinent, Scholastic, 1972)

> The first of several mentions of "sacred cows" (others are on pp. 19, 34, 51). It should be pointed out that all life is sacred, and that cattle are particularly protected (not worshiped, which is what the term sacred implies to me) because the cows give milk, a staple of the diet, while the bulls work.
> (Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972)

Confucianism

> It is misleading to use the term "brotherly love" to describe the Confucian principle that was taught in schools in China.
> (William McNaughton on A Culture in Transition: China, Follett, 1973)

Shinto

> There is also distortion in the treatment of Shinto (pp. 26-27) in that the book tries to make it seem too much like Christianity. Japanese do not see the world as created by an all-powerful being who will punish them if they fail to obey him. They pray for good fortune at a shrine in the much the same spirit that someone makes a wish on a rabbit's foot.
> (Roland Lange on Living in Japan, Silver Burdett, 1966)

4. INACCURACY IN THE USE OF FOREIGN TERMS

There is data on misuse of foreign terms for every book that was reviewed by a scholar and on some books which were only reviewed by generalists; however, mention will be made here of only those terms that are used inaccurately more than once, or that are considered offensive by the people they are meant to describe.

"Hinayana" should not be used. It is considered insulting by most Theravada Buddhists.

Chosen should not be used. This is a Japanese pronunciation and is considered offensive by Koreans. (Chosun is the Korean pronunciation.)

Hara-kiri should be avoided although it is very common. The Japanese consider it coarse and prefer seppuku.

"Dravidian" and "Aryan" should not be presented as racial terms. They are linguistic terms.

Several texts speak of "The Chinese Emperor Shih Huang." Shih Huang is not a name; it is a part of the title.

"Mt Fujiyama" should not be used. It should be "Mt. Fuji" or "Fuji-san."

5. INACCURACY THROUGH THE DEFINITION OF FOREIGN TERMS

Readers found that the most troublesome areas in regard to definition of foreign terms again are religion and philosophy. William McNaughton has illustrated some of the difficulties here and has suggested a means of overcoming them:

> When your subject is philosophy, the first problem you face is definition of terms. For the teacher or author whose subject is the philosophy of a foreign culture, the problem of definitions becomes truly desperate; and when the philosophy sprang up and developed in the medium of a language like Chinese, which is not at all related to the language of your exposition--in our case, English--it is difficult to know where to begin to attack the problem. I do not feel that the problem is dealt with effectively in Confucianism and Taoism, or in any other of the texts I have evaluated for this Asia Society project. The fundamental "inauthenticity" and "inaccuracy" of Confucianism and Taoism, an otherwise very meritorious book, creeps in at this point--definition of the conceptual words, or "value-words," of the philosophies being discussed.
> (Confucianism and Taoism, Addison Wesley, 1969)

As a suggestion toward a solution of this problem, William McNaughton offered the following principle:

> Authors and teachers should _not_ try to find in the vocabulary of their own language a single word with which to translate the key "concept-words" and "value-words" of the philosophy; rather they should give a phrase or sentence, hopefully of reasonable grace and brevity, which defines the concept or value and which does not drag in ethical, moral, and religious connotations from the students' culture. For me the "model" of this practice will always be John Fairbank's definition of the Confucian virtue _jen_ as "natural human feeling for others, graded according to one's relationship to them" (from _East Asia: The Great Tradition_). Furthermore, in the text and discussion, either the periphrastic phrase or sentence should be used throughout, or the term itself from the foreign language should be used (pronounced as best the student is able). In my opinion, there is no other way to avoid a false understanding of the philosophy being studied. (William McNaughton on _Confucianism and Taoism_, Addison Wesley, 1969)

Some of the words most commonly cited as inaccurately defined are:

karma
sutra
yin
avatar
lingam
yoni
the five virtues of Confucianism
bodhisattva
koan

In those texts that do not deal with religion in any depth, the definitions that are given are apt to be quite superficial and inaccurate, as the following scholar points out:

> The definitions of Shinto (p. 200) and Buddhism (p. 219) are well meaning, but hardly accurate. It is a bit like defining Christianity by saying "American people who go to Christian churches believe in Angels and Devils," or "Christ taught that people should lead good lives and be unselfish." This may lead people to be well-

> disposed to Christians, but it hardly educates them as to the nature of Christianity.
> (Roland Lange on Living in Our Country and Other Lands, MacMillan, 1969)

Another area that commonly suffers from imprecise definitions of foreign terms is that having to do with caste. Many authors seem unsure of the difference between caste and class, and attempt to use the terms interchangeably. There is also confusion over the two Sanskrit words, "*jati*" and "*varna*", both of which are commonly translated as caste. While admitting that it is a complicated subject, one that is difficult to explain thoroughly without getting too complicated, the vast majority of the scholars reviewing texts on India said that the caste sections were confusing and unacceptable.

> The author's section on the development of the caste system is very weak (pp. 24-28) and does not make complete sense. First we have four *varnas*, then a large list of castes in a village (p. 29). It is difficult to explain the development of caste and perhaps in a book like this one should only talk about how caste functions in India today. But the four-*varna* system is a theoretical model concocted by Brahman priests and no one has ever observed an Indian village or city in which these four *varnas* were the actual units in social intercourse. On the ground, or actually interacting, we have a multiplicity of *jatis*. Not many villagers know of or have a *varna* model in their heads. It is hard to explain this and more of the complexities of caste in a book like this so perhaps the issue of development of caste should be avoided.
> (Leonard Gordon on Story of India, McCormick-Mathers, 1970)
>
> *Brahman*, *kshatriya*, *vaishya*, and *shudra* are not at all the usual referents of "caste," but of *varna*, which means "color" and also "order" or "rank." Untouchables are not casteless. Neither Indians nor social scientists think that the contemporary castes (*jati*) come from the splitting of *varnas*.
> (Ralph Nicholas on The Social Sciences: Concepts and Values--Level 6, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975, pp. 160-161)

6. INACCURACY THROUGH THE MISSPELLING OF FOREIGN TERMS

Reports list extensive misspelled foreign terms. A complete listing of the misspelled words in each text could be extracted from individual reports if it were found to be useful.

Spelling given	Correct spelling
Ghandi	Gandhi
Varnarsi	Varanasi
Patilaputra	Pataliputra
Adaman Islands	Andaman Islands
samara	samsara
Manboodiri	Namboodiri
Jamshedput	Jamshedpur
Sing	Singh
Bharada Natyam	Bharata Natyam
Sutlef	Sutlej
Theravarda	Theravada
Sylla	Silla
Buddyaya	Bodhgaya

One other problem that arose was that there is no standard romanization of all Asian languages. The following corrections are made on the basis of the accepted spellings or standard romanizations.

Spelling given	Correct spelling
chole	kohl
Baghavagita	Bhagavad Gita
Sodo	Soto
Kung Fu-tze	Kung Fu-tzu
Moist	Mo-ist
Whompoa	Whampoa
Jenmin Jin Pao	Jenmin Jihpao
hankul	hangul
jidai-moni	jidai-mono
Orija	Oriya
Nihoa	Nihon
Kyushi	Kyushu
kamikazi	kamikaze
sobe	sobo
fusama	fusuma

Finally, kshatriya, vaishya, and shudra are frequently not spelled consistently. Either they all take an "h" or none of them do.

7. INACCURACY THROUGH THE USE OF OUTDATED MATERIALS

Some of the inaccuracies associated with outdated materials are strictly factual and could be corrected in revised editions. Common examples of this type are the following:

> East Pakistan should be referred to as Bangladesh. (Sometimes the texts have been updated to indicate this change, but the accompanying maps have not!)
>
> Ceylon should be referred to as Sri Lanka.
>
> Madras State is now officially Tamil Nadu.
>
> Tanaka is no longer Prime Minister of Japan.
>
> China is no longer excluded from the United Nations.

Outdated "facts" are also used to perpetuate the image of Asia as an "underdeveloped" area. (This will be discussed more completely in the section of the report entitled "Underlying Assumptions and Approaches.") Descriptions of Japan, China, and India, and the countries of Southeast Asia are marred by these types of inaccuracies:

Japan

> It is no longer correct to say that "most of the farm work is done by hand." The following sentence about men, women, children, and old people sharing the farm work is also out-of-date. The pattern today is quite the reverse, that the farmers don't have enough work to do, that is, there is excessive labor on the farms and therefore the able-bodied men and women tend not to work on the farms but to earn cash incomes outside and leave the farming for old people and for children. One reason they can do this is that there is so much machinery available.
>
> "Most children go to elementary school, and there are many trade schools and high schools." (p. 71) At the very least this statement is completely out-of-date.

> In the first place, all children, except those who are physically or mentally unable to, go to elementary school; in fact, compulsory schooling in Japan is through junior high school, that is, through nine years, and 100 per cent of the children go to both, so this statement is incorrect at any time. Secondly, at the present time about 85 per cent of the children go on to senior high school, not just junior high. The rate is about the same as the United States and probably somewhat higher. And on top of that about 30 per cent of the young people go on to universities and colleges. So this statement is completely incorrect.
>
> This again is very much out-of-date. Japan no longer "obtains rice from Southeastern Asia." (p. 75) Japan has such a rice surplus that it can't import rice except for strategic reasons or to placate customers; it doesn't depend upon imported rice. In fact one of the main problems of the country is the rice surplus and how to cut it down, and how to cut the rice subsidies. So this sentence is on the wrong track.
> (Herbert Passin on Eurasia, Ginn, 1969)

Japanese scholar consultants for the International Society for Educational Information in Tokyo reviewed some of the same texts that were in the Asia Society sample and noted similar instances of outdatedness:

> "The Japanese house has no heating arrangement in winter, save perhaps for a small charcoal fire in a small stove. The fire is kept barely alive...." (p. 35)
> Comment: Though more or less true even in the 1950's (except for Hokkaido, where wood-burning stoves have been a standard feature of most homes for a long time), this is no longer true today. Gas (either from the city mains or in remoter rural areas in "bottled" form), kerosene, and in some cases electricity, are used nowadays to heat virtually all urban and many rural homes, and heating is looked upon as an essential requirement, though the temperature maintained may be somewhat lower than that of American homes. The change has taken place gradually, but may be considered more or less complete by now.
> (Makoto Okada and L. A. Bester on Japan, Scott Foresman, 1971)

> Comment: The description of Japanese home life given here, though it is prefaced of course by saying "The traditional middle-class home..." is in fact rather outdated as a reflection of life in Japan today, when innumerable city dwellers (who now make up the largest proportion of the Japanese population) live in ferro-concrete multi-story apartment-house estates, some of them housing tens of thousands of people in a single complex. Food served on individual trays on the low traditional table is almost unknown today except in "traditional" restaurants. Most houses have Westernized kitchen and dining room furniture. Moreover rice, though still an important staple, has been replaced by wheat products such as bread, spaghetti, or noodles, in the case of one or sometimes even two meals a day for most city dwellers and even in rural areas also. Charcoal has almost entirely disappeared for both cooking and heating, being replaced by kerosene, gas, and electricity. The charcoal industry has declined to negligibility. The consumption of meat and dairy products has risen enormously; moreover, it is hardly correct to say that Western clothes have only "begun" to supplant the traditional kimono. Western clothes are standard wear for the large majority of Japanese, the kimono being reserved for ceremonial occasions. (Makoto Okada on World Geography Today, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, pp. 323-324)

India

> The description of restrictions on the untouchables is badly outdated for many parts of India, especially as regards village streets and temples. Similarly on p. 22, regarding a village in Kerala, the restrictions on untouchables there are 40 years or more out of date. (Richard Tucker on Class and Caste in Village India, Addison Wesley, 1969)

This example is indicative of the line of thinking that views village India as "unchanging," "hopelessly tradition-bound," and static. In support of this view, one text states that "very few villages have electricity," whereas in reality, at least three states (Tamil Nadu, Haryana, and Punjab) have achieved 100 per cent electrification of their villages. Another asserted that "Village India, in fact, has no concept of Western medicine." In response to this, a scholar has written:

> This is plain wrong. Doctors are used everywhere if they are available.
> (Donald Johnson on India: Focus on Change, Prentice-Hall, 1975)

In several texts, scholars observed that even though the book was up-to-date factually, it assumed a posture that no longer seemed appropriate:

> With quick-changing diplomatic relations between the United States and the P.R.C., the authors' progressive treatment, originally written for the world of 1968 but factually updated to the end of 1971...is now made to appear reactionary in places. The earliest evidence of this datedness appears in the second paragraph of the introduction (page iii), which juxtaposes China (P.R.C.) with the "free world" and states: "We must try to understand why the Red Chinese leaders had shut out China from international councils and peace-making bodies." "Free" and "non-free" is an inaccurate, simplistic, and invidious comparison for today....
> (Marshall R. Pihl on China-Japan-Korea, Cambridge, 1971)

> In a sense, the central idea of the text is out of date, because it presents a Cold War view of U.S.-Japanese relations which is no longer valid, and which no longer reflects the true international situation....
>
> The treatment of Okinawa is as an occupied territory of the U.S. after control of Okinawa has formally reverted to Japan. This treatment is obvious from the maps on the cover and on p. 31, which do not show Okinawa as a part of Japan. It is also shown in the section dealing with Okinawa on pp. 56, 57, where arguments are presented against a speedy return to the island of Japan....
> (Roland Lange on Japan--Ally in the Far East, Laidlaw, 1967)

> Allowing full force to the Asia Society guidelines, "Keep in mind the author's intentions and the 'climate of the time' in which she or he originally wrote the text (this is particularly true of Chinese content)," Hyman Kublin's China nevertheless must be evaluated quite separately: 1) pp. 1-164, on traditional China (chapters 1-7); 2) pp. 165-230, on modern China (chapters 8-9). Beginning with p. 165, the book's standards of objectivity and its reliability decay dramatically, based on outdated and discredited ideas, full of "facts" long since disproven. The tone is also quite propagandistic, primarily in the choice of (pejorative) verbs and adjectives to relate acts and actions of the government of the People's Republic.
> (William McNaughton on China, Houghton Mifflin, 1972)

> The text keeps using present tense for past disasters, and the effect is biased in anti-Communist terms: i.e. "drought brings starvation to millions." It used to bring and maybe will do so again, but it doesn't now and that is the P.R.C's triumph.
> (Jonathan Spence on Eleven Nations, Ginn, 1972, p. 51)

8. INACCURACY THROUGH OMISSION

Many of the types of omissions noted by scholars are discussed in other sections of this report. Concern was voiced repeatedly that: (1) the religion sections in many texts were too simplistic and vague and omitted many concepts that were essential to an understanding of the religious system; (2) in the historical narratives, much material on the indigenous history of Asia (pre-European contact) was treated either superficially or not at all; (3) similarly, there were several reports asserting that pluralism within a country had been insufficiently discussed, and that regionalism had been neglected altogether. This was felt to be a particular problem for India, where regional identities and motivations have always been determining factors of history; (4) in regard to Southeast Asia, a few scholars lamented the presentation of Southeast Asian history exclusively in terms of Chinese and Indian cultural influences on the area, thereby ignoring any indigenous cultural achievements; and (5) as mentioned under another section, at least seven scholars reported that Okinawa had been omitted from the maps of Japan. Whether an error of omission or of datedness, it should nonetheless be corrected.

In addition to the types mentioned above, the single most common omission cited by scholars was the absence of materials on religion, the arts, or other primary expressions of the Asian experience. The question of humanistic and human interest content will be discussed more thoroughly elsewhere in the report; therefore, it only impinges on this section insofar as the scholars' reports indicate that its omission contributes to errors of inaccuracy and distortion. The following are representative of scholar opinion on this subject:

> This particular text, in the China section, comes up short on the daily life of the Chinese, the feelings that go with that form of life, and richness that makes China such a joy. Art, literature, religion/philosophy, festivals and customs, and day-in day-out existence get slighted, and inaccuracy flows at times from this source.
> (Michael Fonte on Cultures in Transition, Follett, 1973)
>
> Perhaps the most significant omission which I found is in regard to humanistic materials. Apart from a fine section on Buddhism in India (with an inset in blue print on the life of the Buddha), I got little sense of materials which would supply the type of empathy with which this section is concerned. By comparison with East Asia and especially China, I felt that India was in general neglected in the way of insets and illustrations which could contribute toward this end. For example, either Akbar or Gandhi could have well been treated in the kind of way in which other figures were considered in these special inset pages and passages. Lacking also was any account or mention of the entry of South Asia into the world literary scene by means of English in the period 1858 to 1947 when all important indigenous figures used English. Nor for that matter is the gradual shift back to Indian regional languages mentioned either. In general, Asia's cultural heritage, or more specifically, South Asia's heritage in the period 1600 to the present, seems to get lost in the narrative of European impact.
> (J. F. Richards on The Ecumene, Harper & Row, 1973)

9. INACCURATE AND INAUTHENTIC ILLUSTRATIONS AND PHOTOGRAPHS (AS WELL AS INACCURATE CAPTIONS)

Inaccurately labelled photographs occur with some frequency. In most cases, the misidentifications are so wide of the mark that it must be assumed that some person completely unknowledgeable about Asia was responsible for them. The following examples are indicative of the types of problems that were noted:

> One text on India identifies a Muslim as a Hindu *Vaishya*.
> (Richard Tucker on *Class and Caste in Village India*, Addison Wesley, 1969)
>
> Another says that a picture is of a village when it is actually third-class government or railway employees' housing in the capital city of Delhi.
> (Ralph Nicholas on *The Ways of Man*, MacMillan, 1974)
>
> Another report said that a Sikh *gurudwara* was labelled a Hindu temple even though "there were no Hindus in sight."
> (Ralph Nicholas on *The Ways of Man*, MacMillan, 1974)
>
> In the pictures on pp. 84, 85 of the text the toy village does not look like a real village in Japan.
> - a) The boats in the harbor do not look like Japanese boats.
> - b) The village is much too near the beach. All beaches in Japan are public property. It would also be dangerous in time of typhoons.
> - c) The shape of the village is wrong. The houses would not be strung out along the beach, but would work inland along a river away from the beach.
> - d) The shape of the mountains is too pyramidal, peaks too pointed to be typical Japanese mountains. They look more like the Alps.
> - e) There would be a breakwater or jetty to protect the harbor.
>
> In the picture on page 86 the house looks more like a teahouse or an ancient dwelling like the Katsura Detached Palace than it does like a modern Japanese country dwelling. In a modern dwelling cement blocks or siding boards would go down to the level of the ground, concealing the pillars. Japanese homes do have toilets, after all, and they are not visible when passing the house.
> (Roland Lange on *Living in Places Near and Far*, MacMillan, 1969)
>
> The main problem here is in the pen and ink drawings found along the border on the first page of each chapter. While many of the drawings seem to have been made from photographs of Japan, the artist evidently did not have enough knowledge of Japanese life to really "see" important details of the photographs. Thus his depiction of Japanese writing and of the line of kimono show forms which never occur in real life in Japan. Good examples of this are the kimono of the standing girl and the construction

> site sign on page 2, the 2 characters meaning "election" on page 21 and the line of the girl's obi on page 44. Sometimes it is worse, as in the case of the "warrior" and calligrapher on page 10. I fail to recognize the warrior as being Japanese at all, since there is nothing about his sword, armor, or face which marks him as Japanese to me. The calligrapher's kimono is not good, and his posture is most un-calligrapher-like. He would look, if his face were a bit more Japanese, rather like a professional gambler but certainly not like a calligrapher.
> (Roland Lange on _Japan--Ally in the Far East,_ Laidlaw, 1967)

The readers' reports suggest that closer collaboration between scholars and publishers is necessary to prevent simple factual errors and the unwarranted imposition of Western frameworks in the text and illustrations, to provide full, balanced, and up-to-date coverage of subjects, and to insure correct usage, definition, and spelling of foreign words. However, accuracy and authenticity are only one dimension of textbooks deserving of further attention from scholars and publishers. The next section explores the impact of the textbooks' underlying assumptions on students' images of Asia.

IV. UNDERLYING APPROACHES AND ASSUMPTIONS (Based on 263 texts)

A. BACKGROUND AND METHODS

1. Recent Research on Ethnocentrism

Many studies have attempted to analyze attitudes toward other cultures in American textbooks and have concluded that learning materials are not as stereotyped as they once were. It is important, however, not to overlook evidence of an underlying Western orientation that is sometimes difficult to identify, quantify, and describe.*

Ethnocentrism is a key term in recent research. In this evaluation it is defined to be the practice of judging other societies by the standards or values of one's own group. Although all societies may have their examples of ethnocentrism, the report is concerned with its American manifestations.

Theoretical scholarship and empirical research both point to pervasive Western viewpoints which are not confined to the elementary and secondary school level. According to Robert Nisbet, an emphasis on growth and change is deeply rooted in Western thought, and has had a profound impact on social science research:

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*See: Kenneth Schmidt, The Treatment of East Asia in World History Textbooks, Syracuse University Dissertation, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1974; Arthur Coladarci, Hidemori Fumita, Patricia C. Hishiki, Robert E. Ward, Japan in World History Courses, A Report to the Division of International Education, U.S. Office of Education, Stanford University, Stanford, California, September 15, 1974, p. 11. A list of other evaluations and evaluating groups is on file at The Asia Society.

> Of all metaphors in Western thought on mankind and culture, the oldest, most powerful and encompassing is the metaphor of growth....Closely related to the metaphor of growth, supporting it indeed, is an analogy....In its most succinct form, the analogy tells us, and has told us for at least 2500 years in Western history that civilization..."passes through the age phases of the individual man...." I can find the identical analogy in a long succession of philosophers, historians, and social scientists in the West; among them Heraclitus, Aristotle, Polybius, Lucretius, Seneca, Florus, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Francis Bacon, Pascal, Fontenelle, Turgot, Hume, Condorcet, Hegel, Comte, Spencer, and in our own day giving company to Spengler and his theory of cycles such otherwise dissimilar figures as Toynbee, Berdyaev, Reinhold Niebuhr, Sorokin, and the late Robert H. Lowie.
> (Robert Nisbet, Social Change and History, Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 8)

Nisbet argues that this idea of growth might serve a useful purpose in providing people with a sense of "majesty" and "destiny" but can, at the same time, serve to distort reality when applied to "the concrete stuff of history,...the highly empirical problems of change which are the substance of contemporary social science." (Nisbet, pp. 250-1) He warns that an emphasis on growth and change can blind the viewer to the importance of "persistence" or continuity. (Nisbet, p. 283)

Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph's research on the caste system in India also leads them to the conclusion that the tendency to neglect tradition and continuity is quite strong in contemporary social science. They point out the potential for distortion when this viewpoint is applied to Asia.

> Modernity has generally been opposed to tradition in contemporary analyses of social and political change....The roots of the opposition of modernity and tradition go back at least as far as the Enlightenment. Condorcet's unilinear vision of progress found nothing of value in the past and saw the hope of mankind in the future. His perspective is still to be found in the assumptions of those concerned to understand the course of modernization in new nations. So, too, is Marx's variant of the

> Enlightenment attitude. The idea of dialectical conflict denigrates the past in its assumptions that "theses" will be consumed in the fires of revolutionary change. Building on such assumptions, theorists of social change in new nations have found a dichotomy between tradition and modernity. Useless and valueless, tradition has been relegated to a historical trash heap. Modernity will be realised when tradition has been destroyed and superseded. (emphasis added) (Lloyd and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition, Orient Longmans, Ltd., 1967, p. 3)

If analysis of social science scholarship reveals evidence of underlying Western assumptions, it is not surprising that empirical research on school texts also provides examples of a Western orientation. Kenneth Schmidt has made interesting use of computer-assisted techniques to detect subtle bias. Schmidt analyzed the most frequently used words in high school textbook treatments of East Asia by means of a computer sorting routine. He found a great number of negative or hostile words, as well as military, political and economic terms, and concluded:

> In fact, what we may be finding is a latent sense of cultural superiority with respect to the political and economic make-up of these East Asian countries. In other words, it would appear from the data that when political or economic terms are used, they are of a negative character or negative words are used in conjunction with them. This, in turn, would convey the subtle sense of disapproval found in this group of variables. (Schmidt, p. 116)

However, one cannot be sure that the negative words do refer to economic, political, and military aspects of Asia. His conclusions are not tied to specific quotations from the texts. Recognizing the limitations of his research, he recommended: "This analysis should definitely be tried within another context for purposes of verification." (Schmidt, p. 17)

2. Asia Society Method for Evaluating Approaches to Asia

The designers of the Asia Society questionnaire developed a system of thematic analysis based on a series of questions about textbook attitudes. Each question called for supporting quotations from the texts as well as "yes" or "no" answers. In the light of recent research, a particular emphasis was placed in the section on approaches and assumptions on the potential for ethnocentrism in textbook attitudes toward Asian politics, economics, growth, progress, and tradition. At the same time, this section of the questionnaire became an attempt to provide an exhaustive list of the various possible approaches to Asia in American social studies books.

Section VI in the questionnaire outlined five basic models of approaching Asia which were not assumed to be mutually exclusive:

> Asia-Centered Approach: Presenting a culture as rational within its own context and value system, helping students to develop empathy for other cultures, viewing Asia within an Asian historical context, making an effort to get beyond the exotic or alien nature of some social customs
>
> Asia-as-Inscrutable Approach: Describing Asia as mysterious or inscrutable
>
> Asia-as-Superior Approach: Presenting Asian cultures as more spiritual, more exotic, more artistic
>
> Developmental Approach: Emphasizing growth, change, and the idea of progress. Possible variations listed in the original questionnaire: seeing a dichotomy between tradition and modernity, measuring worth in economic terms, and using Western standards of measurement.

Eclectic Approach: Making a conscious effort to present different possible approaches in the text

A series of "yes-or-no" questions was listed under each model in the questionnaire. (See Appendix C for details.) Ratings indicating the strength of each approach can be derived from the number of "yes" or "no" answers to specific questions within each section. A "yes" answer signifies that the reader feels that the mentality in question is prominent in a book and could be illustrated by examples from the wording, selection, or organization of the Asian content in the text. Reviewers were asked to provide illustrative quotations and examples.

As Society staff began to sift through the responses, however, it became clear that further refinements to the original categories were needed. For reader-reports revealed that while an emphasis on growth and change is often found in conjunction with a Western-centered orientation, the two are not always paired. Many Asians stress the need for change within their own societies; such an emphasis is not incompatible with an approach that views Asia within its own cultural and historical context. Although developmental approaches appeared in 89 per cent of the texts, this statistic should therefore not be taken to mean that 89 per cent showed evidence of Western ethnocentrism. In addition, readers identified an Asia-as-sensational approach that was not listed in the original questionnaire.

Western Approaches to Development

The most common position in the texts was a Western-centered approach to progress. Questions 1b, f, g, h, i, l, p, and q tested for this outlook. "Yes" answers were considered to indicate a Western (European or American) ethnocentrism:

b. a belief that all societies follow a developmental pattern implying the superiority of the West
f. measuring the accomplishments of Asia by Western standards
g. explaining the differences between the West and Asia in terms of what Asia does not have
h. seeing Asia as a stage for Western history
i. an emphasis on Americans or Europeans in Asia with the result that Asians seem to have little initiative or influence
l. using "Westernization" interchangeably with "modernization"
p. incorporating culturally arrogant phrases
q. justifying the study of Asia in terms of its strategic importance to the U.S.

At least one of the foregoing was reported in 201 of the 263 titles (76 per cent). Books rarely displayed all dimensions of this Western orientation. In some cases, the reader recorded one out of a possible eight "yes" answers. If one defines the ethnocentrism rating to be equal to the number of "yes" answers to questions 1b, f, g, h, i, l, p, q, the average Western ethnocentrism rating in the 263 books was 1.9, indicating the subtle but pervasive level of this attitude in American social studies texts with Asian content.*

Other Approaches to Development

While Western models of development are common, they are not the only approaches to change evidenced in the text. Although it may be argued that the idea of progress is a Western conception, it is endorsed by a wide range of Asians, including Mao Tse-tung and Indira Gandhi, who clearly cannot be accused of Western ethnocentrism.

"Yes" answers to questions a, c, j, k, m, n, and o in the questionnaire indicate the presence of other attitudes to change which are not necessarily Western-oriented:

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*The ethnocentrism rating measures degree in that it indicates the number of different kinds of ethnocentrism found in the texts. Thus it is conceivable that one book would exhibit 35 examples of one kind of ethnocentrism and receive a lower ethnocentrism rating than another book which included 15 examples each of two different types of ethnocentrism. In both cases, the ethnocentrism is prominent, but in the second case two different dimensions of ethnocentrism are illustrated.

a. emphasizing change and growth rather than continuity and persistence
c. stressing large powerful societies
j. seeing tradition, social, and cultural forces as obstacles to progress
k. emphasizing terms like "modern" and "modernization"
m. seeing a dichotomy between tradition and modernity
n. evaluating the worth of a society in economic terms
o. emphasizing poverty to the exclusion of other elements of a culture.

At least one or more of the preceding attitudes was found in 71 per cent of the books. Twenty-seven per cent of the books defined worth and progress in economic terms. A dichotomy between modernity and traditional social, political, economic, technological, and cultural patterns was found in 24 per cent of the books.

An emphasis on growth and change is not incompatible with an approach that views Asia within its own cultural and historical context. Yet only 6 per cent of the books dealt with development from as Asia-centered viewpoint.

Asia-Centered Approach

Asia-centered texts include one or more of the following characteristics (Questions 2a-d in the questionnaire):

a. presentation of the culture as rational within its own context and cultural value system
b. helping students to develop empathy for other cultures
c. viewing Asia within an Asian historical context
d. an effort to get beyond the exotic or alien nature of some social customs

This approach appeared in almost 30 per cent of the books, but was dominant in only 18 per cent.

Asia-as-Inscrutable Approach

This model was widespread in the American mind at one time. As Harold Isaacs wrote of pre-World War II American attitudes toward Asia: "If the only image of an 'Oriental' in their [American] minds was the image of that well-known 'inscrutable' Oriental, the chances are that he dressed and looked like a Chinese" (Scratches on Our Minds, John Day, New York, 1958, p. 67). The authors of the questionnaire were curious to see to what extent this approach still lingers in the minds of textbook authors. A "yes" answer to the following question indicates the presence of this way of thinking:

Is Asia presented as mysterious and inscrutable?

Readers reported the presence of this approach in only 7 books.

Asia-as-Superior Approach

The designers of the questionnaire did not expect most texts to fall into this category, but they did include it in an effort to provide a complete listing of possible approaches to Asia. In short, a text would exhibit characteristics of the Asian superiority model if readers reported a "yes" answer to the following questions:

Are Asian cultures presented as superior to the Western?

a. more spiritual?
b. more exotic?
c. more artistic?
d. other?

Only 10 books were reported to belong in this category.

Asia-as-Sensational Approach

As replies to the question on Asian superiority were examined, the evaluators found that "the sensational approach" was a more appropriate label for some examples that stress the exotic and mysterious to the exclusion of other aspects of a culture in a misguided attempt to interest students.

Eclectic Approach

A text which would attempt to make students aware of the different approaches to Asia would fall into this category. A "yes" answer to the following question indicated the presence of this approach:

> Is a conscious effort made to present different possible approaches in the text?

Readers reported 14 examples.

Although 78 books combine a variety of perspectives unconsciously, it is clear that a Western, progress-oriented viewpoint predominates to the exclusion of Asia-centered points of view in most textbooks. A look at the most frequently reported models in 27 widely used elementary and secondary texts (based on a survey of adoption lists from 16 states and 11 cities) is useful to underline the lack of attention paid to Asia-centered approaches. While developmental approaches appeared in 85 per cent of the 27 titles, only 15 per cent were reported to be predominantly Asia-centered. Evidence of ethnocentrism appeared in 66 per cent of the 27 titles.

B. EXAMPLES FROM THE TEXTS

The most reliable and vivid sense of the content of the books emerges from quotes from the individual readers and the textbooks themselves. This section presents examples quoted by readers to illustrate each of the six approaches. Since texts often combine approaches, the section will isolate common mentalities rather than review individual texts. (Assessments of the assumptions in each book are on file at The

Asia Society.) Some of the more interesting inconsistencies and nuances noticed by reviewers will also have to remain in the original reports for the time being. Although the less influential approaches are discussed in a section on minor themes at the end, this evaluation concentrates on the most frequently reported approaches. These attitudes appear in all types of basic texts at all levels: elementary texts, high school books, area studies, anthologies, and world histories.

1. The Variety of Approaches to Development and Progress

Reviewers noted one or more of the following in 71 per cent of the books:

Preoccupation with change
Seeing a dichotomy between tradition and modernity
Seeing traditional social institutions as obstacles to progress
Measuring worth in economic terms
Overemphasis on poverty
Faith in technology
Measuring by size standards
Using the language of growth and change

Preoccupation With Change

Readers reported an explicit preoccupation with change and growth more frequently than any other approach; it was reported in 114 out of 263 titles (question 1a). The following excerpt from one reader's report indicated the degree to which change can be exalted in a single book. The reader quoted eight examples from one elementary paperback on India:

> The text definitely emphasizes change; in fact, it is obsessed with it. P. 1: "Its people are changing from old ways of living to new modern ways." P. 90: "Rural India is changing, though slowly." The captions for the illustrations on the next page say: "The village women are excited about their new sewing machine." "Indian farmers are learning to use modern farm machinery." "Camels used to do the work of this

> electric pump." P. 93: "Some villages are learning how to run dairies. They learn how to make the milk safe to drink. Many other villagers go to industrial training schools. They learn to use the machines in India's new factories. They stop being farmers. They begin to lead a new life....India's cities are changing from traditional ways to industry." P. 106: "One of the most important keys to India's transition from old fashioned ways to modern ways is the steel industry." P. 112: "Indian leaders are trying to change things. The United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union and other nations are helping. They help with food, machinery, and education. Nations like the U.S., Canada, and Britain have already gone through the three main stages of economic development." (emphasis theirs) P. 117: "All these things mean that the people of India have a good chance of keeping their freedom during the transition to an up-to-date way of life." (Nancy Lanoue on The Indian Subcontinent, Allyn & Bacon, 1971)

The following examples illustrate a variety of textbook approaches to change. It may be seen as beneficial, as difficult, as revolutionary, as slow, as the result of diffusion, as preordained, as linear, as cyclical, or as inextricably intertwined with industrialization. No matter how it is presented, it is a central concept.

> "Down comes the old, the ugly, the unsafe to make way for the new" (p. 41). "It was such fun to watch the demolition crew" (p. 88).
> (Your Towns and Cities, Ginn, 1967)
>
> "Changing the customs and habits of people is extremely difficult. This is especially so if the people do not clearly understand the reason for change."
> (Food and Survival in Asia, Addison Wesley, 1969, p. 41)
>
> McNeill's basic assumptions are that:
> Contact with strangers is the "main drive wheel" of history. Cultural diffusion spreads new developments and "breakthroughs" that often result in the alteration of traditional patterns. Therefore, the relationship and the interaction among civilizations, between civilizations and less complex fringe

areas, and between towns and countryside are the most meaningful areas to explore. There has been a rough balance of power among the "mother" civilizations in the realms of political, economic, religious, and social status, which has on occasion been tipped one way or the other by some significant "breakthrough." His definition of "development" includes tools, methods of agriculture or production, modes of transportation, weapons, ideas of religion or government, and methods of communication. (Frank and Phyllis Smarto on The Ecumene, Harper & Row, 1974)

"The spread of culture to all people is one part of the modern cultural revolution. A second part is the mixing of cultures of different parts of the world. Today teenagers in Japan listen to records made in the United States. People in India go to movies made in Italy and Germany. If you walked into an American art museum you would probably find examples of African sculptures and Chinese and Mexican paintings."
(Exploring World History, Globe, 1969, p. 497)

"Our study of Western man has shown that the rise and fall of each culture and civilization has, in large part, been due to the influence of other cultures. When man began to migrate slowly over the earth he became increasingly dependent upon his neighbor. This is even more true today when modern transportation and communication have made the world appear so much smaller."
(Human Adventure, Addison Wesley, 1972, p. 497)

"The farmers of India must learn to use modern techniques if they are to produce the food their country needs."
(This is Man, Silver Burdett, 1972, p. 103)

"Being dragged into the twentieth century was painful for Indonesia but it had to be done."
(Indonesia, Ginn, 1967, p. 27)

"The story of man is one of progress."

"As civilization develops, a more organized system of government replaces the village chieftains in the growing community."
(New Dimensions of World History, American, 1969, p. 31)

> "The same problems can be found in most of the other new nations. Many of them are worse off than India. They have fewer resources and have learned few skills that will help in this Industrial Age. For these countries the Industrial Age is still to come."
> (World Cultures: Past and Present, Harper & Row, 1964, p. 162)
>
> "Whatever the explanation, Japan had demonstrated that it was possible for a traditional Asian land to modernize. There was no assurance that others could follow the Japanese example. Perhaps the only real secret of development was that each nation had to find the plan for which it was best suited."
> (Modern History, Silver Burdett, 1969, p. 24)
>
> "But though the country had made great advances, she was still far behind the industrialized world. Mao Tse-tung was convinced that, with a great deal more effort, China could catch up in the next five years."
> (The People's Republic of China, Julian Messner, 1974, p. 51)
>
> "Today it (India) is striving to pull itself out of the past and take its place in the modern world."
> (The Human Achievement, Silver Burdett, 1970, p. 574)

Seeing a Dichotomy Between Tradition and Modernity

How is tradition treated in books which focus on change? Again, there are several different treatments. While a few texts present cultural continuities as integral parts of modern life, most texts either ignore tradition or see it as conflicting or contrasting with modernity. Examples such as the following, which demonstrate a constructive interaction, are rare:

> Although change is emphasized, continuity is recognized; viz.: "Maoism was deliberately invented to replace Confucianism but in many ways it resembled what was displaced. Anything else would be strange, for Mao was educated in a traditional way until his twenties, when as a young college student he first met Lenin's ideas and began his career as a Marxist. Other Chinese Communist leaders, as well as many rank

> and file, have a similar personal history. Massive carry-over from the Confucian past is, therefore, inescapable, even if doctrines have been officially and fundamentally changed."
> (Frank and Phyllis Smarto on The Ecumene, Harper & Row, 1973, p. 744)
>
> "A picture of India which portrays this two-way process of the traditional and modern interacting and changing each other is a useful way of describing what India is like. This image gives us some sense of the uneasy yet dynamic political reality which is India today."
> (South Asia, Pendulum, 1973, p. 36)

Seeing a dichotomy between tradition and modernity is more prevalent. Readers reported examples of this approach in 74 books (question 1m). In some cases, this dichotomy is demonstrated by a complete neglect of tradition:

> The entire book is devoted to the "modernization" of Japan. We need only cite the table of contents, which in its entirety reads:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | "Traditional Japan | 1 |
> | Japan Today | 13 |
> | The Modernization of Japan | 23" |
>
> (Roland Lange on Japan, MacMillan, 1970)
>
> The most serious omission is a historical perspective. The only reference to tradition is: "Traditional Japanese music, dances, and stories still are enjoyed. These are beautiful and very different from those of the Americans and Australians." (p. 127) No individuals are mentioned; no political views are provided; no ideas are explained. There is no history given, except for a brief mention of World War II in the teacher's guide under exercises for the academically talented (p. 79).
> (Patricia Genz on Journey Through Many Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1969)

Readers found other examples of tradition as distinct and separable from modernity in a great variety of Asian countries. Old and new are sometimes placed in quaint juxtaposition without attention to how they interact:

> "Rocket experts ride buses alongside Indian mystics. Sacred cows share the streets with automobiles...." The whole tone of this first page is dichotomous--tradition is set against modern technology.
> (Donald Johnson on *India: Focus on Change*, Prentice-Hall, 1975)

> "In Asia such examples of time and culture gaps are not limited to Japan. India is another nation of contrasts, a sometimes jolting blend of the ancient and contemporary. In its crowded cities automobiles compete for the right of way with bullock carts. In steel plants equipped with the most up-to-date machinery, women balance wicker baskets of coal on their heads. Bicycles, bullocks (Asian steers used as beasts of burden), and buses alike must await ancient wooden barges powered by oarsmen, the only river link between some modern highways. Aborigines (primitive people) living in a Stone Age-like society are within walking distance of the atomic energy reactor at Chembur."
> (*Changes in Asian Societies*, Cambridge, 1974 p. 2)

At times, juxtapositions of tradition and modernity are seen as contradictory or confusing:

> "Chiyo's youth had been a rather confusing combination of Japanese tradition and Western modernity."
> (*Women of Asia*, Cambridge, 1974, p. 2)

Tradition is often seen as "breaking down" under the onslaught of modernity. Conflict between old and new in family relations is a frequent theme:

> "For centuries in Japan, it has been the custom that the oldest son bring his family to live in the home of his parents. When the father gets old, the son 'takes over,' but the father still holds the place of honor in the household and makes many of the big decisions, In modern Japan this custom is being challenged."
>
> The use of the word "challenged" rather than "altered" is interesting.
> (Loretta Ryan on *Families and Social Needs*, Laidlaw, 1974, teacher's guide, p. 53)

> "The Communists are attempting to destroy the ancient and closely knit family system of China. ...Even the children are cared for in nurseries. This means that women, as well as men, are able to work in the fields. Women are farm workers, or workers in local factories, instead of housewives and homemakers."
> (*Your Country and the World*, Ginn, 1966, p. 403)

> "Thus the joint family system takes care of its own people. Such a family system is often found in traditional agricultural societies. It does not seem to work very well in an industrial society."
> (*The Indian Subcontinent*, Allyn & Bacon, 1971, p. 87)

> "...This will become clear as we examine the conflicts between the new ways and old in the family, the position of women, and the social classes."
> (*Global History of Man*, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 444)

Many texts not only see the relationship between tradition and modernity as a struggle; they also display a clear bias in favor of change:

> Time and again the book suggests that Japanese society has evolved from a nasty feudal age to one of modernity. A final stage of perfection has at last been achieved, and the chief social task that remains involves minor adjustment of a mechanism that is basically sound but needs to be periodically tuned.
> (Leon Zolbrod on *We the Japanese*, Praeger, 1972)

> No effort is made to go into a country's tradition but one statement on Thailand makes me believe that the authors do not consider it that beneficial in creating a world free from want. Thailand "still preserves its traditional form of government and rather formal, Oriental mode of living."
> (Junnko Tozaki Haverlick on *World Geography*, Southwestern, 1974, p. 590)

> "Most of the earth's people have never seen a doctor. Some would be afraid to let a doctor try to help them. Because of tradition, they may prefer the services of a so-called witch

> doctor, who chants and dances and tries to work magic while the patient suffers. It is perhaps more common that the sick depend on home remedies, handed down by their parents and grandparents." This completely discounts the strength that people can draw from their traditions, the fact that cures do result from "witch doctors" and that there is a good deal of "witch doctorism" in our own society.
> (Andrea Miller on A World View, Silver Burdett, 1968, p. 224)
>
> The author most frequently pits tradition against freedom. This is evident in some of the quotes above and also on pp. 92-3 where he writes, "Despite the surface freedoms in the new Japan, social pressures are still strong and the majority of people conform to old patterns" and "In this way the old autocratic system seems to be surviving the democratic changes."
> (Junnko Tozaki Haverlick on Japan, MacMillan, 1969)

In some books, humanistic and cultural traditions are appreciated but not seen as ongoing features of contemporary life:

> The author's bias against tradition disappears in his discussion of the traditional arts and Japanese aesthetics in general. Here I sense his real appreciation and it is only unfortunate that he did not go into the traditional arts in his section on Japan today, where skiing, Western music, and TV are discussed.
> (Junnko Tozaki Haverlick on Japan, MacMillan, 1969)

Howard Hibbett, professor of Japanese languages and literature at Harvard University, also noted and described the difference between the treatment of culture in "traditional" and "modern" Japan:

> My chief criticism is not so much that technology and "modernization" are viewed as the highest values in life (a familiar bias) as that "culture" is seen as an important element in "traditional Japan" and as something either lacking or wholly unimportant in "modern Japan"--again a familiar bias.
> (A Culture in Transition: Japan, Follett, 1973)

Scholar readers pointed out that these dichotomies between tradition and change are based on superficial definitions of modernity and tradition. Daniel Lev wrote: "Modernity, mentioned in connection with the strivings of Southeast Asian leaders here and there, is characterized implicitly as consisting of tall buildings, electricity, and air conditioning (p. 355) and so on. The complexity of change is not really brought up at all" (Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971). Richard Tucker of Oakland University said of the author of a paperback book on India, "Isenberg equates modernity with success, and tradition with poverty. The realities are vexingly more complex than that equation indicated" (The Indian Subcontinent, Scholastic, 1972).

Definitions of tradition and modernity and the discussion of their relationship are complex issues, and two specialists pointed out that the cultural continuities are rarely recognized in scholarly works:

> The text does tacitly assume a dichotomy between tradition and modernity. In the case of Japan, this assumption is almost inevitable, and the more so since the Japanese themselves are acutely aware of it. One day someone may give us an overview of Japan's last 150 years from the standpoint of cultural continuity, but I don't think anyone is yet capable of such profound sympathy and detachment.
> (Royall Tyler on The Story of Japan, McCormick-Mathers, 1970)

> There is little feeling for cultural continuity and cultural values; but then there rarely is, even among scholars who are more sophisticated than the present author.
> (Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972)

Caste, Cattle, and Monkeys: Social Institutions as Impediments to Progress

One corollary of the view that tradition and modernity are antithetical is a tendency to see traditional social institutions as obstacles to the modernizing process--whether economic, social, or political. Readers found 63 titles based on this assumption. These statements are characteristic:

> "Thus industrialization and modern agricultural techniques were slow in coming to the Indian subcontinent--partly because of the firm hold tradition has on the way of life of the people."
> (People in a Changing World, Laidlaw, 1974, p. B 105)
>
> "Religious beliefs and lack of education make progress slow."
> (The Social Studies and Our World, Laidlaw, 1972, p. 325)
>
> "Progress has also been discouraged by Hinduism, the religion followed by more than four-fifths of India's population. This religion teaches that people should accept their way of life without trying to change it. India's leaders have great difficulty convincing people that changes must be made."
> (India and Southeast Asia, Fideler, 1972, p. 116)

Most of the examples of this mentality center on Hindu beliefs concerning caste and animal life.

Recent scholarship has shown that there are a variety of ways to look at caste. McKim Marriott discusses caste in detail in the accuracy section and concludes, "Castes and their relationships have been in constant flux, leading to much variation. The underlying principles are readily adaptable to modern conditions." Some Indian scholars, on the other hand, see caste as an obstacle to modernity. The concern here is that most textbooks employ only one point of view: the dysfunctional. A common textbook theme is "caste as an obstacle to nationalism":

> Treatment of the caste system, however, is handled poorly, I think....Besides being seen as a force holding back nationalism, they explain only one aspect of caste: "Hindus in one caste did not think of Hindus in another caste as their equals." (p. 52) This is true but the book does not continue to explain that some Indians believe a society works if all the castes do their appointed job.
> (Lucia Pierce on The Human Adventure, Allyn & Bacon, 1971)
>
> "India is a democracy. In a democracy, all men are created equal. The caste system does not fit in with the idea of a true democracy."
> (How People Live in India, Benefic, 1973 p. 80)
>
> Occasionally the book sees certain traditions as standing in the way of progress. The caste system "...hampered the development of true national feeling."
> (William Skowronski on The Record of Mankind, D. C. Heath, 1970, p. 41)
>
> "HOW DOES THE CASTE SYSTEM CAUSE A PROBLEM? The Hindus of India, as we have already seen, have castes. Many strict Hindus, especially the high caste Hindus, are still loyal to this ancient system. Castes play an important part in the daily life of the village people too. They rarely marry outside their caste. Nor do the people from the castes very often eat together. It is taking a long time for the Hindu people to forget these timeworn customs and work together to build one nation."
> (How People Live in India, Benefic, 1973, p. 79)

Texts also assume rigid social stratification and emphasize an absence of political equality without exploring alternative satisfactions provided by the system. Richard Tucker observes that confusion between the terms "caste" and "class" results in a "projection of Hindu society as unchanging and rigid, which is profoundly contrary to the massive evidence which is easily available" (Class and Caste in Village India, Addison Wesley, 1969). Leonard Gordon says of India and Southeast Asia (Fideler, 1972), "We find here the familiar confusion between class and caste. Brahmins were the highest caste in the ritual hierarchy; sometimes they were low on the scale of class, which would be used to indicate stratification by wealth and power." McKim Marriott points out that in practice a "caste system makes for a division of labor, a high degree of interdependency (and)...promotes solidarity by requiring exchange and a distribution of food and other resources among households of different occupation, caste, and economic classes." The following excerpts from texts demonstrate that these views are rarely taken into account at the elementary and secondary school level. In fact, teacher's guides and end-of-chapter questions frequently ask students to compare the caste system with racial segregation in the United States:

> "Relate India's caste problems to our own problem of racially based inequality of opportunity."
> (The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 60)

> "This is the origin of the caste system which most Westerners regard with horror. For the orthodox Hindu there is no escape from the caste into which one is born, and life in the lower castes is both humiliating and hard....The caste system started small with good intentions. Compare the caste system with racial segregation."
> (Concern: World Religions, Silver Burdett, 1970, p. 9)

> "Caste has been a tremendous burden on Indian society. It has segregated people into hundreds of divisions and kept them there. To the members of the lower castes, and especially to the untouchables, it has brought untold misery. The Indian government has now officially outlawed the caste system. But, because its roots are so deeply entwined with the Hindu religion, caste will not easily be wiped out in India."
> (The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 531)

> "Today it is against the law for any person to be treated as an untouchable. The caste system is beginning to break down. But it will be a long time before its effects disappear from India."
> (This is Man, Silver Burdett, 1972, p. 103)

> "Caste has been responsible for extreme irregularities of wealth, power and status."
> (Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 462)

As the last quotation indicates, there are texts that hold the caste system responsible for economic as well as political inequities, ignoring historical opportunities for economic and social mobility in the "Sanskritization" process. (See M. N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, Orient Longmans, Bombay, 1966.) In addition, as Lucia Pierce points out, there are economic difficulties involved in the abolition of the system: "It would be hard to continue their traditional society if there were no castes and no caste jobs" (The Human Adventure, Allyn & Bacon, 1972). As the following quotations suggest, however, few texts consider these points of view and choose instead to gloomily emphasize "hopelessness" and "misery":

> "This system has made life a hopeless nightmare of toil and unspeakable poverty for countless millions of India's people."
> (The Human Achievement, Silver Burdett, 1970, p. 543)

> "The members of the upper castes in India were able to enjoy a comfortable way of life. The caste system became increasingly strong. Over hundreds of years it became a rigid social system. Life became more miserable for the lowest caste and the untouchables. The largest part of the population was constantly on the edge of starvation and suffering. There was no way for a man to improve himself or his conditions, and there was not even the hope of doing so during his lifetime."
> (Human Adventure, Addison Wesley, 1972, p. 134)

> "So it is not surprising to notice people's lethargy--an inertia born of hunger and reinforced by generations of fatalistic acceptance of a system that has never yielded them much except disappointment."
> (Inside World Politics, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 230)

> "...(the caste system) retarded economic development by restricting each individual's choice of occupation and activities."
> (The Record of Mankind, D. C. Heath, 1970, p. 41)

Most texts also see Hindu attitudes toward animal life as obstacles to economic development. They lament Hindus' unwillingness to take the lives of a variety of creatures ranging from cattle and monkeys to snakes and silkworms. The productive role of the cow in India's ecological system is not acknowledged. (See comments on "sacred cows" in the accuracy section of this report.)

> "India's population is among the fastest-growing in the world; however, devout Hindus will not practice birth control....Thousands of underfed cows now wander through India's streets and countryside. In a country where people are starving, the cows eat up precious food supplies. And since they are sacred, no one can eat them."
> (Regions of the World, Science Research Associates, 1973, p. 172)

> "Nehru also had to fight ancient Hindu customs. These customs often hindered India's economic progress. One of these customs was the belief that the cow was a sacred animal....Hindus do not eat beef, and the cattle served no useful purpose."
> (You and the World, Benefic, 1968, p. 300)

> "Hindus also believe many animals and plants are holy. They must not be harmed in any way. The cow is one of these animals. As a result, cattle can never be killed or eaten. In years of famine, hundreds of thousands of people may starve. But the cattle are holy and cannot be used for food. Many Hindus, in fact, eat no meat at all. Does this seem strange to you?"
> (This is Man, Silver Burdett, 1972, p. 102)

> "These animals (cows) are allowed to graze off the land. They use up some of the acreage that could be used for the people, but they supply nothing for the Hindus to eat. This religious belief about animals does lower the food supply for South Asians. Some Indian leaders have recognized this problem and they are trying to get the Hindus to

change some of their ideas about animals. However, it is not very easy to change traditions and beliefs that people have held for many years."
(Our World and Its People, Allyn & Bacon, 1972, p. 446)

"Because of these rules (of caste), overpopulation of cattle is almost as much of a problem in India today as is human overpopulation."
(The Human Achievement, Silver Burdett, 1970, p. 542)

"The cattle and the monkeys constituted a crushing economic burden and do to this day."
(Ibid., p. 573)

"The hundreds of millions of cattle, as well as thousands of bands of roving monkeys, consume huge amounts of food that can be ill-spared by the people."
(Your Country and the World, Ginn, 1966, p. 419)

"The attitude of the people toward animals contributes to India's agricultural problems."
(Ibid., p. 76)

"The sacred cows in India illustrate the restraints of the past upon modern life."
(People in a Changing World, Laidlaw, 1974, p. 6)

"The Hindus respect all animal life. Even dangerous animals are not killed....The result is that hundreds of persons die each year from the bites of poisonous snakes."
(Living as World Neighbors, MacMillan, 1969, p. 313)

"There are some 220 million cattle compared with about 66 million in the United States. India also has great numbers of goats, sheep, horses, donkeys, water buffaloes....But the animals are not used for milk or meat: they are used as draft animals and for their wool and hides, or not used at all. Although little attention is given to the production of food crops, the animals are allowed to graze on large areas of land that might be used to produce human food. The animals do not contribute anything to the food supply; in fact, they destroy millions of tons of food grains, and since they are considered sacred, they cannot be killed....(Killing silkworms) the Hindus are not permitted to do. Therefore, this product, which has contributed much to the economic life of other parts of Asia, has never been introduced into India."
(The Wide World, MacMillan, 1972, p. 488)

While many texts offer a limited view of caste and animal life based on inaccurate information, some texts do present Hindu religious beliefs concerning animals in a positive manner by using what Indians themselves say. One book (India, Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 81) includes a poem by R.K. Narayan that expresses some Indian beliefs on the preservation of animal life and makes clear the economic advantages of this tradition:

> "Living, I yield milk, butter and
> curd, to sustain mankind
> My dung is as fuel used
> Also to wash floor and wall;
> Or burnt, becomes the sacred ash
> on forehead.
> When dead, of my skin are
> sandals made,
> Or the bellows at the blacksmith's
> furnace;
> Of my bones are buttons made....
> But of what use are you, O Man?"

Measuring by Economic Standards

If the role of traditional social and cultural institutions in change is often denigrated, economic and technological factors are often emphasized. Evaluations of 73 texts point to a definition of worth in economic terms. This is especially common in the treatment of Japan:

> "Like its history and its people, the Japanese government is interesting, but easily the most interesting thing about Japan is its economy." (Diversity of Ideas, Harper & Row, 1972, p. 89)

> "In any case, Japan has become one of the major powers of the world. It has earned the respect of the world for its many fine products." (not for its culture and civilization, but for its products)
> (Zelda S. Bradburd on Diversity of Ideas, Harper & Row, 1972, p. 94)

An economic definition of worth is also frequently applied to South Asia:

> Modernization is identified with economic development. In discussing Pakistan's modernization efforts we read about the ending of feudalism under Ayub Khan, land redistribution, irrigation projects, and industrial growth.
> (William Skowronski on Record of Mankind, D. C. Heath, 1970)
>
> Cutting down to certain facts can be distorting: "The followers of Zoroaster, from ancient Persia, are called Parsees. Though there are only about 200,000 of them in India, they are important as businessmen." Does that mean they're not important in other ways?
> (Andrea Miller on How People Live In India, Benefic, 1973, p. 49)
>
> While the book does not disregard the artistic achievement of Asia, its emphasis is upon economic, scientific, and technological achievement. For example: "Indian thought continued to be 'other-worldly' and to ignore the problems of daily living. Little was done to make practical inventions which might have lightened toil, or to educate a large number of students."
> (William Skowronski on Record of Mankind, D. C. Heath, 1970, p. 223)

Overemphasis on Poverty

Evaluators of 58 books found an overemphasis on poverty--an aspect of the progress orientation that is closely related to measuring worth in economic terms. One example is listed below:

> The Far East is a place of poverty: "Thus, for the forseeable future, the Far East will face problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy, and political instability."
> (Reader comment on World Geography Today, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, p. 277)

This is by no means an isolated example of this mentality. Other examples documenting the concentration on poverty to the neglect of other subjects are given in the section on overemphasis on Asian problems (see p. 103). One of the basic ethnocentrisms of many American texts discussed in that section is a tendency to explain the differences between Asian and Western societies in terms of what Asia does not have; thus, in such texts poverty is a frequent topic.

Faith in Technology

The questionnaire did not ask readers to comment on the texts' specific attitudes toward technology, but some readers made a special point of describing a book's tendency to place great emphasis on or faith in technology:

> "Modern science, technology , and medicine can provide the means to improve the quality of life for the Indian people."
> (Exploring World Cultures, Ginn, 1974, pp. 178-179)
>
> "Radio, television and jet airplanes are bringing the billions of people on earth closer together."
> (The Earth, Globe, 1971, p. 5)
>
> "...men (of the Third World) looked to industrial technology and science as the key to the improvement of their social and economic conditions. 'Industrialize!' became their rallying cry."
> (Man's Unfinished Journey, Houghton Mifflin, 1974, p. 717)
>
> "Bit by bit, however, and year by year, manufacturing does gain ground in southern and eastern Asia. Perhaps, at some time in the future, great industrial districts will be developed there, rivaling those of the rest of the world. Most of the natural resources are there, waiting for men to use them."
> (A World View, Silver Burdett, 1968, p. 300)
>
> "SOME PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. (Heading for following text) You can see clearly now that the farmers of East Asia have lagged somewhat behind those in many other lands. But they are not standing still. Here and there men are learning about new crops and new ways of caring for the old, familiar crops. A few new machines are coming into use. For example, the

> picture above shows a new way of lifting water to irrigate a rice field. This is in Thailand. A gasoline engine has been placed under the thatched roof. A belt reaches from the engine to the wheel, as you can see. This machine pulls an endless belt with square paddles that drag the water digging a sloping trough from a canal to the ditch shown. From such simple beginnings, a new kind of farming and a new way of life may take shape, in time, in East Asia."
> (A World View, Silver Burdett, 1968, p. 133)
>
> "If the rising expectations of the people are to be met, the Oriental countries will somehow have to convert themselves from underdeveloped to developed countries. This means sweeping improvements in every sphere--education, health, farm techniques, transportation, mining, and industry. The technological knowledge needed to make such sweeping changes can easily be borrowed from Western nations. But how to make needed changes in the face of centuries-old ways of thinking and acting--that is one of the major problems which Oriental leaders face."
> (The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 556)
>
> "Americans use more machines than any other people in the world. These are found in office buildings, factories, homes, and many other places. With these tools and machines, American make many good things for people. Think for a moment of the machines and tools in your home and school. In your home there may be a can opener, a toaster, and a refrigerator."
> (Communities Around the World, Sadlier, 1971, p. 35)
>
> "Various machines make man's work easier and more efficient. Machines extend a farmer's ability to do more work in less time. Machines have largely replaced animals and hand tools in extensive farm operations." (teacher's guide, p. 85)
> "Technology can make man's work easier." (teacher's guide, p. 73)
> (People, Places, Products, Addison Wesley, 1972)

A few books, on the other hand, revealed an awareness of a more recent attitude in the world that technology is a mixed blessing, creating new problems even while it may solve old ones:

> "The future for mankind offers unlimited possibilities. But we must remember that the technology that made it possible for explorers to land on the moon has not

> helped man to solve the modern problems of over-population, air and water pollution, starvation, and the old problem of how to live peacefully with his neighbor. Because our technology has become the most complicated ever seen on the earth, our problems have become more complex and difficult."
> (Human Adventure, Addison Wesley, 1972, p. 497)

As one reader commented:

> In these days of concern about how to live in a no-growth world, it is disturbing to find that texts still place great faith in machines which consume vast amounts of energy, quite aside from the fact that it is disparaging to some Asian societies which are organized around fewer machines.
> (Loretta Ryan on Communities Around the World, Sadlier, 1971)

These unsolicited examples came from a variety of books at all grade levels, and they indicate that any reissue of the questionnaire should include a question on the book's assumptions about the relationship between technology and change.

Measuring by Size Standards

Estimating worth through size is another factor that might have been better articulated in the questionnaire. Readers were asked if the texts emphasized large and powerful nations; they indicated that large, powerful societies were emphasized to the neglect of the small in 43 books. For example:

> China, India, and the Moslem Middle East are clearly emphasized. Japan gets a little special treatment, but all other Asian countries are considered "fringe" areas. Viz: "China was like a vast sun, radiating skill, knowledge and power. Other East Asian peoples were like planets revolving around the sun."
> (Frank and Phyllis Smarto on The Ecumene, Harper & Row, 1973, p. 262)

The following excerpt from one report documents the neglect of small countries and areas in a world history text:

> What Asian country, countries, region or area is covered?
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | China | 25 pp. |
> | India | 19 pp. |
> | Japan | 15 pp. |
> | Southeast Asia | 8 pp. |
> | Korea | 2 pp. |
>
> (William Skowronski on The Record of Mankind, D. C. Heath, 1970)

Another reader wrote:

> Small nations of Asia are discussed and dismissed in a matter of column lines. Example: 29 words for both Laos and Cambodia.
> (Reader comment on World Geography, Ginn, 1974)

One reader observed that textbooks do not do justice to the pluralism in Asian societies. Minorities within a country are also often overlooked:

> The smaller societies such as the Sikhs, Parsees, tribal peoples, Muslims, and Jains are almost totally overlooked. The readings made no attempt to be all-inclusive. However, these peoples do participate in the larger setting described in Volume 2. Basically it was Hindu India that was presented.
> (Wilson Kratz on Through Indian Eyes, Praeger, 1974)

Readers also noted preoccupation with size in other contexts. One high school teacher quoted this example emphasizing population size and commented:

> "The most impressive thing about the people who live in China is that there are so many of them." Impressive to whom? Why are Americans so impressed with numbers?
> (Billie Day on A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 389)

Another reader mentioned that the size of people was sometimes glorified:

> "In general, most people in industrial countries receive medical care when they need it. This fact, plus the many improvements in medical care, means that the problem of health is being met better now than even before. People...are larger and stronger than ever before, too." (assumption that bigger is better).
> (Andrea Miller on World Cultures, Harper & Row, 1964, p. 428)

Andrea Miller also points out a preoccupation with the size of farms and villages:

> I just realized that the words "small" and "tiny" keep coming up. Notice the "small farms" and "small villages." This seems at some level like an emphasis on what Asian cultures don't have, which is "bigness" in some way or another. We hear that "Chota Lal's father harvests crops from his little fields twice each year." About Chu's village we hear that "All farmers in the village grow rice. Their tiny rice fields are called paddy fields." And "Shiro's father owns fifteen tiny paddy fields."
> (Our Big World, Silver Burdett, 1968, pp. 147-8)

Language of Growth and Change

Language is often an indicator of the model of thought in the text. Nisbet pointed out how the choice of words like "death," "decadence," "sick," "growth," "unfolding," and "development" used to describe societies can alert the reader to the underlying assumption in a book (Nisbet, pp. 3,7). Several texts do use metaphors of growth and change to describe history:

> Chapter I title: "Dawn of Civilization" (emphasis added)
> (Living World History, Scott Foresman, 1974, p. 21)

> Chapter headings: "*Dawn* of Man." "Man *Matures*,"
> "Civilization *Grows* in the Near East, "*Rise of the*
> *Modern World*" (emphasis added)
> (*The Human Adventure*, Addison Wesley, 1972, pp. 28,
> 44, 326)

The words "new" and "beginning" are also used to describe Asian countries' positions in a pattern of development which assumes nationalism and eventual industrialization:

> "Many of the nations--India, Pakistan, Burma, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Ceylon and others--are new."
> (*Exploring the Non-Western World*, Globe, 1971, p. 62)

> "In one way, India was better off than some other new countries." ("New countries" is a questionable term, because it also implies that India did not have any rich history of tradition before it ceased being a colony.) "There were some trained leaders in India. There was also aid and encouragement from the United States and other industrial nations. There was much fertile land and many minerals, such as coal, that could be used. There were people who believed in freedom aand progress, and who were willing to work for what they believed. India moved slowly ahead."
> (Andrea Miller on *World Cultures Past and Present*, Harper & Row, 1964, p. 162)

> The book assumes that the Southeast Asian countries have no history, art, culture. They are referred to consistently as the "*new*" nations.
> (Reader comment on *World Geography Today*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971)

> Last statement of the book: "Is this the final cycle of fulfillment for Hindus and India in the 20th century? How and where should India begin?"
> (Loretta Ryan on *India: Focus on Change*, Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 119)

One text borrows its metaphors from baseball to express "novelty" and "beginning":

> "In some respects, India is just stepping up to the plate."
> (India: Struggle Against Time, Scott Foresman, 1963, p. 19)

Use of the words "modernization," "modern," and "modernize" also indicates concern with growth and change. Twenty-five reports stressed the importance of these words in reinforcing values about change (question 1k):

> "The biggest problem facing most East Asian countries today is the need to modernize."
> (The People of Africa and Asia, Sadlier, 1974, p. 356)

> The term "modernization" is rarely used. However, "modern" and "modernize" are used frequently. Japanese progress in changing its governmental forms, increasing production and industrialization, changing the educational system, constructing roads and railways and enhancing the status of women is called "modernizing" (pp. 372, 438). The Chinese in the early 20th century who wanted to reform the government and the educational system are called "modernizers" and their era called the "period of modernization" (p. 371). India and Pakistan are described as two nations making efforts "to solve the great problems of modernizing their societies" (p. 193).
> (Edward Vernoff on Mainstreams of World History, Oxford, 1974)

It is clear that vocabulary can reinforce all aspects of the progress orientation just discussed: a preoccupation with change and growth; a neglect, distortion, or disparagement of tradition; a viewing of traditional social institutions as obstacles to progress; and measuring worth by economic, technological, and size standards. The style and tone section explores the use of language in more detail. Examples of textbook consciousness of the importance of terminology like the following are all too rare:

> "Rather than referring to the countries of Southeast Asia as 'underdeveloped' or even 'developing,' it would be more accurate simply to say that their

development has been different than ours."
(Southeast Asia, Pendulum, 1973, p. 18)

This example is a good illustration of an Asia-centered approach to development. A full discussion of the Asia-centered point of view appears later. The most common way of looking at progress in the books is Western.

2. Western Ethnocentrism

> The myths and realities of Western experience set limits to the social scientific imagination, and modernity becomes what we imagine ourselves to be.
> (Lloyd I. and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition, Chicago, 1967, p. 7)

The ethnocentrism in most texts is based on the premise that Asia's development is not different from ours. It assumes that progress in Asia will follow the same patterns as in the West, that its accomplishments and shortcomings can therefore be measured by Western standards and that Americans and Europeans have a large role to play in assisting Asian development. The specific examples to be discussed in this section include:

1. The "Catching up to the West" Mentality
2. Confusing "Westernization" and "Modernization"
3. Applying Standards of Measurement that Disparage Asia
4. Emphasis on Asian Problems--Neglect of Asian Strengths (With special sections on Asia in General, Southeast Asia, India, China, Japan, Transportation, and the Failure to Explore Alternative Ways to look at Asia)
5. Self-interest as a Justification for Studying Asia
6. Asia as a Stage for Western History
7. Americans and Europeans as "Helpers" in Asia (with special sections on Southeast Asia, India, Japan and the Philippines, and assumptions about the proper contemporary American role in Asia)
8. Western Ethnocentrism in the Selection and Organization of Materials; Awareness of Ethnocentrism in the Texts.

The "Catching Up to the West" Mentality

Readers reported that an assumption of a universal historical pattern implying the superiority of the West occurs with great frequency in the sample of books. It was noted in 99 out of 263 texts. The following collection of excerpts from a wide range of texts illustrates the pervasiveness of the "catching up to the West" mentality in the treatment of such diverse subjects as machines, politics, role of women, military power, and fertilizer:

> "Once Europe developed machines and mastered the use of power to run these machines, the West forged ahead rapidly. Now, belatedly, the countries of the Orient are trying to catch up."
> (The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 528)
>
> "They (Japanese) knew what they wanted. They wanted to catch up to the West."
> (People and Culture, Noble and Noble, 1974, p. 344)
>
> "You can see clearly now that the farmers of East Asia have lagged somewhat behind those in many other lands." (p. 133) "The nations of the Orient are stirring and restless. If they learn to use the tools of the West, they may produce much more, and greatly raise their standards of living. They may also become more influential in world affairs." (p. 340)
> (A World View, Silver Burdett, 1968)
>
> "In the twentieth century, the peoples of Asia and Africa have come alive. They have adopted the nationalistic creeds, the democratic ideals, and the modern science of the West, and they have demanded freedom from imperial rule."
> (Living World History, Scott Foresman, 1974, p. 201)
>
> "The chances for Asian women to at least match the social role of their Western counterparts seem good."
> (Women of Asia, Cambridge, 1974, p. 48)
>
> "For many years the most civilized country on earth, it (China) had fallen behind the European nations in terms of technology and military power and had been exploited by them."
> (Social Change: The Case of Rural China, Allyn & Bacon, 1971, p. 1)
>
> "New fertilizer, new irrigation, and new crop management is gradually being introduced, but the machinery, the level of production and the standard of living, while improving, is still far behind the more advanced countries of the West."
> (Ibid., p. 2)

> "Nevertheless, what we call Western ways--that is, the ways of the U.S., western Europe, and similar regions--have been spreading. Western economic ways have spread rapidly. Nearly every country today wants more factories, for example. Political changes leading toward democracy come more slowly. Democracy is a way of life that requires much experience. To hold free elections and to abide peacefully by the results of the elections are political ways that take a great deal of time to learn."
> (Geography and World Affairs, Rand McNally, 1971, p. 24)

> "In modern times, the nations of monsoon Asia have lagged behind Europe and the United States in economic progress."
> (Ibid., p. 445)

> "The feeling of nationalism came to England in the early 1400's. It came later in other lands....China ...did not develop nationalist feelings until late in the 1800's."
> (World History Study Lessons, Follett, 1966, p. 424)

Even when there is an effort to avoid a superiority complex, it appears:

> "Western civilization developed in Europe among men of the Caucasoid race. This fact tended to give Caucasoids a belief in their own superiority because they had better ships, weapons, and technology than the non-Caucasoid peoples they conquered. But Western civilization is a cultural factor, not something biological. It can be learned, and is being learned by people of every race. Western civilization is becoming world civilization. The races of man are competing or, better, cooperating more and more on a basis of equality."
> (Geography and World Affairs, Rand McNally, 1971, p. 30)

One reader observed that some books present the assumption "that all societies follow developmental patterns and that the West is not only superior but has brought a unified world." She gave these examples:

> "With the twentieth century we reach a crucial turning point in the history of the world. The age of imperialism extended Western control over many non-Western cultures and brought the world under Western

> leadership. Ever since, mankind has truly lived in 'One World'."
> (Man's Unfinished Journey, Houghton Mifflin, 1974, p. 600)

> "So it is with a thousand necessities of life. As we look at pictures of cities in all parts of the world, we see a striking uniformity. The mass-produced automobile, an American invention, dominates the streets. High-rise apartment buildings and skyscrapers show a common architectural inspiration and skill. The same office routines prevail, aided by telephones, typewriters, and computers. Managers or secretaries, all dressed in western clothes, conduct themselves with the same air of efficiency. Even those who increasingly protest the tyranny of the organization, of the 'Establishment,' show an international uniformity in their slogans, dress, and attitudes."
> (Ibid., p. 719)

The reader then remarks parenthetically: "From my own experience working in a business in Asia, this is far from reality." Another example of the "one Western world" mentality can be found in New World and Eurasian Cultures:

> "As we can see, the world of 1600 could be divided into Western and non-Western cultures. The Western culture was expanding. Western men were exploring, trading, preaching, and settling in many non-Western lands....The most important result was change. Change and the modern age go together. Since the sixteenth century, Western ideas have continued to spread....(Notice how Chinese culture also had a period of expansion into Southeast Asia.) The culture of Western Europe proved by far the strongest, however. It pushed its way into nearly all the other cultures and civilizations."
> (New World and Eurasian Cultures, Allyn & Bacon, 1971, p. 146)

Confusing "Westernization" and "Modernization"

In some books the "catching up to the West" mentality is reflected in a failure to distinguish between "Westernization " and "modernization." There are some books which make a distinction between "Westernization" and "modernization":

The terms "Westernization" and "modernization" are both used, but not interchangeably:

"Westernization" is applied to the adoption of specific Western ways (p. 22).

"Western-style clothing gradually replaced native dress in Bangkok" (p. 22).

"A 1916 law required all Thai families to have a legal surname, and elementary education was made compulsory in 1921" (p. 22).

"With the spread of Westernization in Bangkok and the large provincial centers, more emphasis is being placed on making money and obtaining material possessions" (p. 36).

"Modernization" is applied to extension of facilities: street cars, public health laws, waterworks, construction boom, telephones (p. 66).
(Fern Ingersoll on Thailand; Today's World in Focus, Ginn, 1971)

However, readers offered 28 examples of books which used the two terms interchangeably:

Westernization, industrialization, and modernization are seen as virtually synonymous, as on page 555: "The young Japanese daimyo persuaded the emperor that Japan must take the road toward Westernization and industrialization. The decision was carried through in the most thorough fashion. Japan invited foreign experts to help modernize...."
(David Narot on Men and Nations, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975)

The terms "Westernization" and "modernization" are interchangeable. "The actual process of Westernization or modernization varied from one country to another."
(Reader comment on Man's Unfinished Journey, Houghton Mifflin, 1974, p. 580)

Modernization is equated with Westernization:

"Part of Japan's modernization has been to adopt many western ways, and to overhaul its entire society and government."
(Diversity of Ideas, Harper & Row, 1972, teacher's guide, p. 85)

In some texts, there is no overt expression of the assumption that Westernization and modernization are one and the same. But readers have indicated that it is implied:

> Although no outright identification is made between "Westernization" and "modernization" the context assumes such an identity. The government "...believed that India's enormous problems of illiteracy, poverty, and a very low standard of living could only be resolved by following the currents of industrialization and modernization, courses already travelled by the Western democracies."
> (William Skowronski on Class and Caste In Village India, Addison Wesley, 1969, p. 38)

End-of-chapter exercises, section headings, and chapter titles also reveal and reinforce assumptions. The following outlining assignment appears in Exploring World History, (Globe, 1969, p. 471): "How Japan became a Westernized nation." Another text used "Japan Westernizes" as a section subhead, referring to the post-1868 period. The chapter title is : "Japan, Westernization of an Asian Nation." (Africa, Latin America and The East, Pergamon, 1973, p. 179)

Teacher's guides also reveal assumptions which are not prominent in the student text: One reader said, "The first paragraph (in the teacher's guide) in 'Approaching the Chapter' interchanges 'modernization' and 'Westernization,' and then states blandly: 'This has been the story of Westernization and its interaction with non-Western cultures.'" (Walter Mason on Africa, Latin America and The East, Pergamon, 1973, teacher's guide, p. 111)

A scholar pointed out that while the terms "modernization" and "Westernization" were not used, "Western" things were sometimes described as "modern" in the teacher's guide. He cited the following example:

> "...Call attention to the fact that the father in the Japanese family is wearing traditional dress, while the other members of the family are dressed in modern clothes." The "modern clothes" referred to are Western clothes. Actually the kimono worn by the father is no closer to Japanese clothes of a few centuries ago than the Western clothes worn by other family members are to Western clothes a few centuries ago. Therefore, they are both equally modern. This same idea of contrasting traditional with Western as though it were a case of traditional and modern appears elsewhere. In the case of this picture the text itself describes it in the following terms: "Some people dress as they did long ago. Some dress as we do." To me this seems like a more accurate description. So the business of equating modernization with Westernization is found in the teacher's guide rather than in the text itself.
> (Roland Lange on Living in Places Near and Far, MacMillan, 1969, teacher's guide, p. 104)

Confusion between "Westernization" and "modernization" grows out of a failure to recognize Asian adaptations of Western influences. Although indigenous developments are also overlooked in some treatments of the Chinese and Indian impact on smaller Southeast Asian and East Asian countries, the textbooks emphasize Asian "imitation" of Europe or the United States. A number of books reinforce the stereotype of 19th-century Japan copying from the West and fail to point out that the West, with its passion for "Japonaiserie," was also imitating Japan at this time.

> "Late in the nineteenth century, Japan began to increase its power also. Japan copied the industrial methods of Western Europe and the United States, which together are often called the West. Japanese students went to school in the West, and men from the West were paid to go to Japan and explain Western methods of manufacturing." (emphasis added)
> (Andrea Miller on World Cultures Past and Present, Harper & Row, 1964, p. 151)

> "After seeing the inventions of the Western world, Japan decided it had to copy Western ways in order to grow strong and free."
> (Exploring A Changing World, Globe, 1968, p. 473)

As this observer notes, the chief failing of the copying view is that it omits and distorts important aspects of Japanese experience:

> As an example of distortion through omission, take the treatment of the "modernization" of Japan. There is no discussion at all of the profound internal changes that took place under the Tokugawa before Perry, e.g., urbanization, commercialization. Yet, students are later asked to explain why it was possible for the Japanese to "make such rapid advances" during the Meiji Period. The only clue given in the text is the Japanese penchant for copying; Japan's "modernization" is seen entirely as growing from imitation of the West, not at all as growing out of its own experience.
> (David Narot on Men and Nations, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971)

The following comments from Royall Tyler offer a helpful perspective on the Japanese "imitation":

> The question of whether or not Japanese culture is all an "imitation" of China or the West is a tough one to deal with. It depends on what one means by imitation, and particularly on what value one ascribes to it. At worst, imitation is parrot-like mimicry; at best, it's a truly creative adoption and eventual assimilation of high achievements of another. The European peoples are so diverse, and they fade off so delicately, in time and in geography, into the vast reaches of Asia and the Near and Middle East, that the whole issue of "imitation" seems never to arise. This is because mutual influences have been so continuous that they've been almost invisible; and the notion arises that the "Western" culture is and always has been essentially homogeneous. I submit that if this is true, then China, Japan, and Korea are essentially homogenous too, and so is all of Asia on into Europe and across the Bering Straits. In the meantime, though, Japan is a long way out in the ocean, and whenever she opens herself to foreign influence, she gets caught red-handed stealing goodies from somebody else's island. Of course, the tycoons on the other islands are very magnanimous about it, and the more so since they've forgotten what clever imitators they once were themselves; or still are. The author of The Story of Japan says, "During the

> last half of the Heian Period the Japanese stopped copying Chinese ways of living," (p. 39) as though the Japanese all at once decided to stop taking notes and get on with living. Such oversimplifications convey a pretty silly impression of the Japanese.
> (Royall Tyler on The Story of Japan, McCormick-Mathers, 1970)

As Tyler points out, cross-cultural comparisons of the process of change involve many complex issues. The description of Asian changes as "imitations" or "Westernization" depends in part on the standards of measurement used.

Applying Western Standards of Measurement to Asia

The preceding sections have shown that texts often present Asia as behind the West in a linear pattern of development, but destined to "catch up." The next two sections will examine the standards of measurement used in books which promote this outlook. The readers' reports reveal two major areas of concern: 1) the use of specifically Western standards to praise and describe Asia and 2) comparisons based on yardsticks which, while not always explicitly Western, foster a disparaging view of Asia in contrast to a relatively favorable view of the United States or Europe. Neither approach considers alternative yardsticks which might incorporate Asian points of view.

Praising and Describing by Western Standards

Readers reported 84 examples of measuring by Western standards. Some texts use Western measures to describe, or even praise, Asia. As Royall Tyler said of one author:

> The author has a marked tendency to make modern Japan acceptable to his audience by showing that "Today many people in Japan live much like

> American families" (p. 90). One of his assumptions certainly is that "we" are the standard of achievement. (Royall Tyler on The Story of Japan, McCormick-Mathers, 1970)

This approach is common in the treatment of Asian literature and the arts. Statements like "Kalidasa has been called 'the Indian Shakespeare,' and his famous play Shakuntala has been compared with Shakespeare's As You Like It" (A World History; A Cultural Approach, Ginn, 1969, p. 211) are characteristic. Such comparisons will be discussed in full in the following section of this report, which is concerned with the use of primary sources of Asian expression in the texts.

However, readers also quoted cross-cultural comparisons which assumed American technological, political, economic, sartorial, athletic, or even culinary standards as goals to be met:

> The Western way is the standard of normalcy--at least that is the implication. "Japanese ocean liners are operated with great efficiency. Their ships which carry passengers to the Orient are quite as comfortable and safe as those of any other nation."
> (Reader comment on Eastern Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1968, p. 402)
>
> "Stress: (about Japan) This family is much like families elsewhere in the world....The workers have jobs like those that American fathers have.... The workers wear clothes much like those that American fathers wear....These children wear clothes similar to those worn in America."
> (Families and Social Needs, Laidlaw, 1974, teacher's guide, pp. 53, 54, 109)
>
> "Ice cream is a favorite in the United States and is becoming popular around the world" (caption of a photo of Japanese boys eating ice cream with a baseball glove in front of them on the table).
> (Tin-Mala on Three Billion Neighbors, Ginn, 1965, p. 49)

> Readers are reassured that "in our society" (p. 23) "places of employment today for the first time in history can be operated with true efficiency" (p. 24). On the one hand, the inferiority of Japan to the West (1b) is implied in the statement that the "old constitution" of 1889 "did not fully incorporate democratic principles," and on the other hand, Japan's superiority to other countries in Asia gains emphasis from the point that this document was "the first written constitution in Asia under which a modern political structure was adopted" (p. 26). The editor and original authors alike have failed to note, incidentally, that certain Western democracies, such as Canada and the United Kingdom, still manage to muddle along without such paraphernalia as a written constitution.
> (Leon Zolbrod on We the Japanese, Praeger, 1972)

> "The Japanese have the highest standard of living in the Far East. Most people can read or write. Japanese children study much the same things American children do. English is also taught. Japanese boys and girls even enjoy many of the same sports Americans do, such as baseball, tennis and swimming."
> (Exploring A Changing World, Globe, 1968, p. 474)

> "Some parts of China have better roads. These new roads are like the roads we have in the United States."
> (The Earth, Globe, 1971, p. 90)

This "emphasis on the similar" could be interpreted as an attempt to promote student understanding by focusing on situations that students will find familiar. The attitudes expressed toward Asia are positive. The examples cited are not inaccurate. However, there is a fine line between good intentions and ethnocentrism. What the readers objected to was the assumption that Asian societies are acceptable to the extent that they are reflections of our own.

The effort to present Asia in Western terms can distort Asian experience. David Narot quoted the following example and commented:

> "...Maoism itself is like a religion in many respects. It has a concept of a future paradise (on earth), a savior (Chairman Mao), a set of sacred books (Mao's works), saints (revolutionary martyrs), hymns, and proselytizing missionaries (Party Cadres)." (p. 69)
>
> Is this the most appropriate comparison for Mao and Maoism? The very concept of "religion" of course is an abstraction loaded down with Western cultural baggage. As the book itself admits in an earlier reading, Western concepts of religion are inappropriate when applied to the Chinese context. Why then pose this particular comparison at all, when other comparisons that the book does not make (e.g., Mao and the K'ang Hsi Emperor) might give students a more realistic insight into the nature of the Chinese tradition?
> (David Narot on _Through Chinese Eyes_, Praeger, 1974)

So many scholars objected to the use of Western terms to describe Asian concepts or institutions that a special section was created in the accuracy and authenticity section on this approach (see p. 45).

Emphasis on Asian Problems--Neglect of Asian Strengths

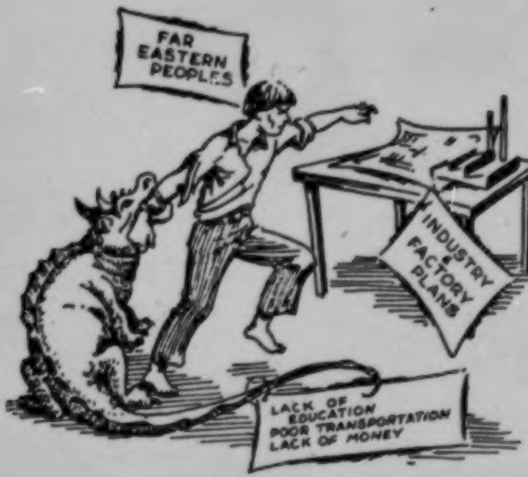
Although textbooks sometimes use Western standards in an attempt to promote a positive portrait of Asia, the single most widespread image is one of technological, economic, political, and social "underdevelopment." Readers reported 89 books which explained differences between Asian and Western countries in terms of what Asians do not have (question 1g). Although social and political "backwardness" is occasionally described, the main focus is on technological and economic standards of achievement. References to America and Europe are not always explicitly made, nor are the descriptions necessarily inaccurate. However, comparison of Asian economic and technological realities with what McKim Marriott described as "whatever we in the U.S. would like to imagine ourselves to be" offers a very one-sided look at Asian cultures.

The preoccupation with Asian problems can be found in textbook treatments of every Asian country from the Philippines to Afghanistan. Most of the examples cited by readers refer to the following regions and countries: Asia in general, Southeast Asia, India, China, and Japan.

Asia in General

Many books present Asia as a place of unrelieved misery. The following are examples of judging Asia by the size of its houses, the amount of electricity used, income level, life span, health care, number of machines, size of families, and literacy rates:

Industrial Resources of the Far East


FAR EASTERN PEOPLES
INDUSTRY & FACTORY PLANS
LACK OF EDUCATION
POOR TRANSPORTATION
LACK OF MONEY

(*Exploring the Non-Western World*, Globe, 1971, p. 257)

"In Africa and Asia, millions of people live in small huts that have less protection and have less comfort than the huts of Europe in the early Middle Ages. These people do not have any of the conveniences made possible by electricity and gas. In some non-industrial countries, modern houses and modern towns are being built, but progress is slow. So far, the new buildings provide shelter for only a small percentage of these people."
(World Cultures Past and Present, Harper & Row, 1964, p. 315)

"Most Asians are farmers. They grow the food they eat. They live a hard life and are poor. They suffer from many diseases and have few doctors. Poor Asians expect to live only thirty or forty years. People in North American live twice as many years.

"Asian farmers use few machines. They still use a wooden plow, pulled by an ox. Asian farms are too small for machinery, anyway." (p. 203)

"The people of Asia have many problems. The Asians have very large families. This means that every year there are more and more people to feed. Asia's land is already crowded." (p. 209)
(Communities Around the World, Sadlier, 1971)

"There was no bread or meat, no milk or fruit, no toast or jelly--just plain oatmeal-like porridge."
(Voices of Emerging Nations, Leswing, 1971, p. 14)

"Your ration of dairy products would be equal to a glass of milk a day. You could have no seconds and no between-meal snacks or drinks."
(Manufacturing and Agriculture, MacMillan, 1969, p. 45)

Southeast Asia

John Echols listed a page and a half of examples of the negative approach to Indonesia taken from a single book. The text assumes the importance of the presence of electricity, size of houses, literacy rates, and income levels. In addition, the author describes the country in terms of its lack of transportation facilities, roads, radio, TV, plumbing, tableware, and household appliances. This approach is typical of examples quoted by many other readers to illustrate textbook treatment of Southeast Asia. There seems to be more concern with what Asians do not have than with *what they do have:*

> There are occasional statements and comments in the text where the attention of the reader is drawn to lacks, especially of material things, or to the absence of items Westerners tend to take for granted.
>
> "...most villagers have no electricity in their homes so they have no radios or television sets for entertainment. They have no books or magazines to read either." (p. 10)
>
> "There is no bathtub in Slamet's house nor in other farmers' houses. In fact, there's no running water at all." (p. 13)
>
> "Unlike the homes of the farmers, the Lurah's home has a bathroom and electric lights." (p. 16)
>
> "Farm families, like Slamet's, do not use knives, forks, or spoons, as you do." (p. 27)
>
> "All the boys and girls are supposed to receive at least six years of schooling. However, many children in Indonesia do not go to school at all. Many families are very poor, and the children are needed to help in the home or in the fields.
>
> "Also, if all the children in Indonesia were to start school today, there would not be enough trained teachers to teach them all. Indonesia has not had enough time to train the number of teachers needed throughout the nation." (p. 28)
>
> "Bambang and Sri's school has only a few badly worn reading books. These are given out during each reading lesson and must be shared by several pupils." (pp. 29-30)
>
> "...most villagers such as the people in Slamet's village have never ridden in an automobile or seem a motion picture. They have never traveled more than a few miles from their own homes." (p. 34)
>
> "The poorest people of Djakarta live in neighborhoods that look more like crowded villages than city neighborhoods. These sections are known as kampungs.... The roads are unpaved and the houses, like most village houses, are small with thatched roofs and bamboo walls. However, in the

city these houses are crowded closer together. There are no bathrooms nor plumbing of any sort. The canals, which are all over the city, are used for washing and bathing as well as for sewage disposal. There is no electricity, and the people light their homes with kerosene lamps.

"A kampung can be found nearly anywhere in Djakarta. It may be tucked into any back street or just behind an avenue that is lined with Dutch-style houses. Others are on the outskirts of the city, up gullies where the houses are half-hidden by banana and papaya trees.

"Hundreds of thousands of people--in fact, more than half the number of people in Djakarta--are jammed into the kampungs. Many of the kampungs have appeared only in the last twenty years. All grow more crowded every year, for ever since Indonesia became independent, people have been drifting into the city in great numbers." (pp. 37-38)

"Most of the people who settle in the kampungs have come from country villages near Djakarta. Most of them have had no chance to go to school, so they cannot read or write.

"Most of these people are also unskilled. That means they have no special training in a particular kind of work. In their villages, they may have been small farmers or workers on large farms, using simple methods of farming.

"Since these people are unskilled and unable to read or write, they try to earn a living in ways that require little or no training." (p. 38)

"Some country ways of living do not fit into city life, and the city kampungs are more crowded and unhealthier than country villages." (p. 39)

"Even children who live too far from school to walk go by betjak,for there are no school buses." (p. 40)

"Very few people have refrigerators, and canned foods are much too expensive for most people." (p. 41)

"Few households have refrigerators, washing machines, or other such appliances.

"Because there are so many people who are unskilled, many people work long hours as servants for low wages, a room, and food." (p. 44)

"Bathrooms are not equipped with showers or bathtubs." (p. 46)

(John Echols on The Story of Indonesia, McCormick-Mathers, 1965)

India

India's problems receive more attention than those of any other region treated by texts. The books focus on overpopulation, slums, poverty, bad smells of garbage and sewage, restrictions of the caste system, illiteracy, short life spans, unemployment, mud "huts," animal power, and the lack of change, political unity, cars, running water, table manners, machines, plumbing, and refrigerators. The discussion of these deficiencies is rarely balanced by an examination of the rich cultural heritage in India. Texts do not explore the art, the drama, or the stories from the Mahabharata that mothers tell their children to instill moral values:

Urban Life

> "Old Delhi looks like other big Indian cities. It has some fine buildings and a few small parks. But much of it is a slum. The narrow streets are full of people on bicycles or on foot. A few small taxis and horse-drawn carts make their way among them. Large white cows wander about merchants sitting in the middle of their little shops. Sometimes the jewelry, cloth, and other goods are spread out on the ground. The air is hazy with the smoke of little cooking fires. And there is always the bad smell of garbage and sewage."
> (Inquiring About Cultures, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 252)

Lack of Change

> "Why is India so far behind Japan and the countries of Europe and North America?"
> (A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 504)

> "Most of the people of India today live much as their ancestors did centuries ago....The organization of rural life in India closely resembles that which was found in medieval Europe a thousand years ago."
> (The Record of Mankind, D. C. Heath, 1971, p. 40)

Village Life

"Many of these farmers cannot read or write, and they are sick much of the time since most families raise barely enough food for themselves. They cannot afford to pay taxes to build schools or hospitals. Even where schools have been built, children are often kept at home. Many parents believe that their children can't help but grow up to be poor farmers like themselves and therefore do not need an education. In many villages there is no pure water. People use the water of village 'ponds' and tanks where animals are brought to drink. Poor diet, over-crowded houses, dirt and disease-carrying insects are a few other reasons why many people of the Far East are sick and die at a young age....In many cities of India, people must sleep and eat in the street, for they have no other place to go."
(Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 240)

"Farmers barely make a living and know little of the great modern world.

"In the third place, the village people live in 'another world.' Many of them have barely heard of Gandhi or Nehru. Many of them are sick and cannot read or write. So many different languages are spoken that Indians have a difficult time communicating with one another. Many are terribly poor. The caste system still divides the people, though it has been outlawed by the new government. Finally, India needs help and money to make better use of its resources."
(Exploring a Changing World, Globe, 1968, p. 481)

"The dirty streets of Gopalpur are very narrow. When it rains they turn into mud. When it is dry, the mud turns into dust. The houses are made of mud brick. There is no glass in the windows. There is no electricity. Most people go to bed when it gets dark. There is no running water. People lift the water up from the wells. They also carry water up from the river."
(Inquiring About Cultures, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 142)

"In the small villages (in India), people live in homes built of sundried bricks with thatched roofs. Many villages do not have water, medical care, schools, electricity, roads, or sewage systems. Each morning during the growing season, the farmers walk to their fields. They have few machines or tools to help in farming the land."
(The Eastern Hemisphere, Allyn & Bacon, 1969, teacher's guide, p. 150)

"Virtually no lights are to be seen for mile after mile except where the rare city or market town passes below." (p. 15)

"The typical village has neither a post office nor a shop, though the village money lender may keep in his home a small stock of cloth, matches, kerosene, salt, combs, soap, flashlights, and other small articles for sale." (p. 17)
(Food and Survival In Asia, Addison Wesley, 1969)

"These farmers care for the amazing total of more than 6000 fields which surround the village. Yet, so tiny is each field that all the fields total only 745 acres--less than one and a quarter square miles. The average farmer, then, has only six acres, which are perhaps divided into fifty pieces, or small fields."
(A World View, Silver Burdett, 1968, p. 129)

"Although technology had made some marks on India by the mid-twentieth century, village life continued much as it has throughout history. The bullock cart, traditional village buildings, and stepped temples are much more typical of Indian life than is the American-made bulldozer."
(Past to Present, MacMillan, 1963, p. 153)

"The streets are filled with people. Cattle roam about on them. The village has no sewer system and no sanitary way to dispose of garbage." (p. 314) "The Indian farmer's tools are usually simple ones....Modern machinery is almost never seen in Indian villages." (p. 315)
(Living as World Neighbors, MacMillan, 1969)

"The average farmer in Pachperwa, as in the rest of India, is desperately poor. He is probably a renter, not a landowner. His barn is only a hut which shelters his oxen. His tools are crude and simple, perhaps only a wooden plow, a spade, a clod-crusher, a sickle, a piece of rope, and little else. The picture at the bottom of page 129 shows a clod-crusher, which is only a heavy piece of wood dragged across the field. At the top of the page, you can see a woman who has been harvesting grass with a sickle. Altogether, the farmer's tools and machinery may not be worth more than ten or fifteen dollars. Rarely can he save any grain or money from one year to the next. So, one crop failure means hunger."
(A World View, Silver Burdett, 1968, p. 130)

Illiteracy, Unemployment

"Seventy per cent of the Indians are illiterate. Eighty per cent are peasants toiling on farms of just a few acres each. In the teeming cities, thousands live on the streets and millions are unemployed."
(Story of Nations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973, p. 574)

Life Expectancy

The clichés are in images rather than just words: "Death in India comes in so many more ways: A playful nip from a rabid puppy, a burning fever, a gnawing belly, a leprous hand....Perhaps in no other country is it so easy to talk about life and death, about God and eternal salvation as it is in India."
(David Dell on India: Today's World in Focus, Ginn, 1968, p. 38)

Housing

"The houses, which are really huts, are made of wood or dried mud. The roofs of the huts are thatched with rice straw, tropical grasses, or palm leaves. The village, unless it is located on a stream, has a man-made pond near it to supply drinking water. The pond serves many other purposes, too. People bathe in it and wash their clothes in it. Cattle drink from it and often wallow in it. During the dry season water for irrigation is drawn from it." No mention of the cultural and historical wealth of the village.
(Reader comment on Living As World Neighbors, MacMillan, 1969, pp. 314-315)

"Despite 25 years of independence and work most Indian villagers are still poor. Most of them live in huts of straw and mud and farm plots of land near their villages. The huts are small and crowded together. Besides the huts there are usually a few brick houses for wealthy families and a small schoolhouse. Only rarely do villages have running water or electricity."
(Man the Toolmaker, Follett, 1973, p. 314)

In this one passage the authors have betrayed biases about industrialization, communism, and yardsticks for measuring rural life's quality. "Like the 'poor' houses, these ('prosperous') dwellings have neither windows, electricity, nor plumbing. Wells (many are not brick-lined and consequently are unprotected from pollution), tanks or ponds filled by monsoon rains, and rivers and canals provided the villagers with water. The great majority of India's villagers cannot read or write. They are not aware of the great problems facing the nation, such as economic development or the threat of communism. They do not have to read about the lack of food, however; their empty stomachs tell them that." (p. 486)

"Yet workers in the most modern steel mills must still go home to conditions that are pre-industrial: no bathrooms or ice boxes or stoves." (p. 493)
(Reader comment on The Wide World, MacMillan, 1972)

"The furniture will remain scanty and, like all other dwellings, the house will have neither windows nor plumbing."
(India and South Asia, MacMillan, 1971, p. 23)

"These houses have earth or tile floors. Few have windows for glass is very expensive."
(The World Around Us, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1965, p. 132)

Caste Restrictions

"If you were a Brahmin could you go to a movie with a Kshatriya? Think of some Americans who started life as farm boys and became presidents of the United States....Could this happen in India under the caste system?"
(The Indian Subcontinent, Allyn & Bacon, 1971, p. 62)

Introduction to section on village life in India--first impression of village life: "What does your father do for a living? Is he a carpenter? If he is a carpenter, which children can you play with? Can you play with the children of a teacher or a barber or an airplane pilot? Can you share your lunch with them? Of course you can. But imagine a country where you could not. India is such a country."
(Inquiring About Cultures, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 136)

Poverty

> "Poverty is the most important single fact about India today."
> (A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 502)

> "Indians have almost the lowest standard of living in the world."
> (Four Lands--Four Peoples, D. C. Heath, 1969, p. 245)

> "The average yearly income of a village farmer in India is less than the average weekly income of an American man."
> (Freedom for Expression, Harper & Row, 1972, teacher's edition, p. 68)

> "Many Indian people remain impoverished and underemployed. There are few places in India where this sad condition does not exist.
>
> "India is an economically developing country with much human pathos and suffering." (p. 28)
>
> "Laundry in India hardly ever sees automatic washers and dryers. Here men clean their clothing by beating it against rocks." (p. 41)
> (South Asia, Pendulum, 1973)

Nineteenth-Century China and Japan

Japan and China are frequently presented as stagnant before the advent of the West. The scholars pointed out that the common view of Tokugawa Japan, emphasizing poverty, political repression, and a simple technology, is inaccurate. Readers also observed that lack of technological change in 19th-century China is a recurring theme. Both treatments tend to follow from a progress-oriented approach that exaggerates the importance of the changes which have taken place in the last 100 years. China is also frequently compared unfavorably with Japan for being slower to change.

Tokugawa Japan

With respect to those aspects of Japan which don't seem in many ways just like America, the author often conveys the impression either of quaintness or outright backwardness. "At a time when Europe was rapidly entering the modern age and new nations were rising, Japan was still living under feudalism." (p. 44) This attitude is taken for granted by a lot of people, and by a great many Japanese indeed. Nonetheless, I think it's unfair. Japan in, say, 1800 seems to have been a good deal more lively and "progressive" (if this is what one wants) than is generally supposed; and Europe and America were a good deal more grubby and benighted than we care to remember.
(Royall Tyler on Story of Japan, McCormick-Mathers, 1970)

Life and customs in traditional Japan are presented as oppressive and irrational. This is done simply by describing such life from the standpoint of a 20th-century American who doesn't understand any of the conditions which determined such a life. For instance, the amusement at the type of pillow that people used (p. 2). On p. 6 the book says "it also became a habit for Yokichi to remove his sandals before going into a house." Without an understanding of the fact that his sandals would have ruined the floors of the houses he was entering, i.e. a knowledge of Japanese house construction, this sounds like an irrational custom. He would have to be irrational to live in a house of "wood and paper screens" as his house is described on p. 4.

Many aspects of life in traditional (Tokugawa) Japan are described in a very negative fashion leading one to think of them as problems: "For the majority of the samurai, going to the mansion every day was empty ritual." (p. 2) This may be so from the standpoint of the authors of this text, but it is doubtful whether it was so from the point of view of the samurai themselves. Their job was not, as the authors think, merely to fight. It was to serve their lord in any way possible.

"Japan was a colorful land with a rich cultural heritage, but most of the people were poor farmers who were heavily taxed to support a small group of elite rulers, warriors, and scholars." (p. 59) I wonder what the authors think happens in most of the world today, if not that the mass of poor people are heavily taxed to support a small elite group.

There is an overemphasis on the poverty of Tokugawa Japan. "...the majority of the farmers lived in poverty....Even the samurai, who were nobles, were very poor....Many Japanese only had fire-pits in which wood or charcoal was burned....But then he would console himself with the idea that at least they did not have to eat barley or other coarse food as most Japanese did." (p. 59) (In addition to over-emphasizing poverty, the idea is completely un-Japanese. A Japanese does not take comfort in the fact that other Japanese live worse than he does. He is more likely to feel sad that someone is so badly off.)

"Even small families had barely enough to eat. ...Farming methods and implements were primitive." (p. 59) Not only is this very negative, it is much worse than conditions really were.

"At the same time other parts of the world, such as Europe and North America, were pioneering in the modernization of their way of life. All aspects of the economy--government and laws, transportation facilities, education and industry, as well as agriculture--were affected. By comparison, Japan was primitive." (p. 45) (Roland Lange on Japan Unit 6, MacMillan, 1970)

China

"What did Chinese technology have to do with the fact that Chinese life had not changed much? Why did Chinese officials want life in China to go on as it had for hundreds of years?" (p. 255)

"Students should recognize that China's farming, handicrafts, technology involved time-honored methods that had not changed in hundreds of years." (teacher's guide, p. 283)
(Man the Toolmaker, Follett, 1973)

"Why was there so little change in Chinese society compared with that of the West?" (end-of-chapter question)
(Viewpoints In World History, American, 1974, p. 311)

"China withdrew from the world and came to hate foreigners. The Chinese felt that they had achieved the good life and did not need to seek elsewhere for it. China thus achieved a stable society, but at the cost of what we might call 'backwardness.'"
(Men and Nations, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971, p. 276)

Comparisons Between China and Japan

> "Back in the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was in much the same situation as China--backward industrially and greatly opposed to the Europeans.... But Japan, unlike China, realized the practical superiority of European civilization and decided to adopt it."
> (Mainstreams of World History, Oxford, 1974, p. 372)
>
> Change is valued as may be observed in such statements as "Between 1574 and 1853, Japan changed remarkably" (p. 21) and "China (was) content to rest on the glories of the ancient past" (p. 96) in describing the "stagnant years" of the Yüan, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties. (pp. 96-109)
> (Hiroaki Sato on The Golden Age of China and Japan, Charles E. Merrill, 1971)

Contemporary China

Textbook treatments of China since 1949 often emphasize economic problems. As many readers point out, the information is sometimes out of date. Some readers reported that when economic progress is mentioned, it is often in a grudging tone. Great stress is placed on the lack of political and social freedom, while such positive factors as the "serve the people" spirit are neglected. As a reviewer points out, textbooks rarely discuss China in a balanced context of a total cultural revolution: "'Economic change = technology, industrialization, and modernization' forms the framework for this text. I believe that the Chinese are concerned about economic revolution, but only in the context of the total cultural revolution that Mao insists on." (Michael Fonte on Cultures in Transition, Follett, 1973) At times, comparisons with Japan, the U.S., Europe, and Indonesia promote negative images of China.

Out-of-Date Economic Information

"Communes are a failure....There is good reason to believe that the average Chinese is not getting enough food to keep healthy and in many cases even to keep alive." (p. 426) "China is poor in petroleum." (p. 429) (May be exporting in 1985)
(Reader comment on World Geography, Ginn, 1974)

Under the caption "China! Human Anthill" and next to a picture which pre-dates 1949 is this text: "The beggars at left illustrate the hunger of China's people. Given all these conditions, disease spreads quickly. The Communist government has been unable to solve these problems that have long plagued the nation." The clear implication of this two-page photo section of slums is that poverty is widespread in mainland China today.
(Reader comment on Eastern Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1968, p. 396)

Lack of Attention to Government Efforts to Improve Standards of Living Since 1949

There is not enough emphasis on material improvements in China since 1949. The authors say they suffer from "lack of machinery" (p. 188), "lack of transportation" (p. 188), and "constant poverty" (p. 189).
(Reader comment on Regions of The World, Science Research Associates, 1973)

P. 72 is grossly unfair: "The government has not shown a great effort to improve the living standard of the individual." I am afraid that the author means Western, American standards of living when he uses that term.
(Joseph Krause on China, Oxford, 1972)

Grudging Reports of Economic Progress

"In spite of bad mistakes by Communist leaders and several years of bad farming weather, the income of the Chinese people slowly increased. So slowly, indeed, that trained observers of Chinese affairs believe that it may be many years before China produces a satisfactory standard of living for its people."
(Eastern Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1968, p. 407)

"Mao began to transform China into an industrial nation. Like Stalin's, Mao's efforts destroyed many lives. But after ten years of failures in food production and industrial output, Mao was forced to reduce the pace of change. China's difference with the Soviet Union caused the Russian leaders to withhold economic aid after 1956. This added to the difficulty of carrying out Mao's original plan for the rapid industrialization of China."
(Human Adventure, Addison Wesley, 1972, p. 495)

The section on the economy (pp. 80-94) suggests strongly that the commune system has failed. But page 94 grudgingly admits: "In spite of the immensity of China's economic problems, the cold fact is that the Communist regime still survives under burdens and problems that might have destroyed any other government. The fact of survival and the undeniable progress that has been made makes China a nation to watch."
(Joseph Krause on China, Oxford, 1972)

"The communist Chinese have tried to combine these small farms into large agricultural cooperatives, with modern machinery and methods. So far, however, these methods have not been entirely successful, but progress has been made, and agricultural production in China has increased." (p. A 71)

"China was far behind all other large nations in steel production, but in recent years has made strenuous efforts to catch up....Through great sacrifice, however, the Chinese have been able to raise their production enough to become one of the leading producers of steel in the world." (p. A 91) (emphasis added)
(People In A Changing World, Laidlaw, 1974)

The word "modern" or "modernizing" is never used when discussing Communist China or North Viet Nam. The P.R.C. is cited for having improved the educational system, improved health services, increased food production, developed industries and increased the railroad system. But, rather than being called modernization, they are referred to as "economic and social improvements--at a heavy price."
(Edward Vernoff on Mainstreams of World History, Oxford, 1974)

Emphasis on Economic Desperation as Rationale for Acceptance of Political and Social Restrictions

Communist reforms received a certain set of adjectives that go along with the spirit of the subtitle, Development by Force. The Communists are pictured as clever, tricky, and even deceptive, playing games with the Chinese people: "Everyone would live happily ever after. While these were merely empty promises, they found sympathetic ears in a country where poverty and war had destroyed all other hope...." (p. 20) "The newly 'liberated' peasants were organized into 'mutual aid teams.' (Author's emphasis) The peasants were lured by promises of what they longed for." (p. 27)

This literary stance precludes any indication that even some Chinese might have agreed with the Communist programs. No doubt great suffering did take place in China as a result of the campaign to raise her economic level. Professor Chang, however, chooses to see this as "development by force" rather than as a heroic struggle--as some others might see it. The Korean War and Sino-Soviet disputes are seen as diversionary tactics to distract the Chinese populace. (p. 53) No thought is given to other probable interpretations.
(Anthony Lentini on China: Development by Force, Scott Foresman, 1964)

"People who are badly nourished or starving are apt to be either desperate or so weakened that they care little what happens to them. They are therefore likely to follow any leaders who promise a quick change to a better way of life whether or not such promises are likely to be kept. They are liable to fall under the control of dictators, as was the case in China after the close of the Second World War. Certainly, one of the best ways to combat communism is to have people who are well fed, strong, and able to stand up as free men with leaders and governments of their own choosing. A man with an empty stomach and a starving family is apt to do almost anything."
(Your Country and The World, Ginn, 1966, p. 149)

"In 1958, Mao launched 'The Great Leap Forward.' This was probably the most extreme example of communization in history. China's hundreds of

millions of peasants were gathered together on huge farms called communes. They were organized into brigades to work in the fields, ate together in community dining halls, and slept in large dormitories. Before and after work, they were required to attend Communist lectures and drill in the militia. Each commune also had to establish and operate small steel furnaces or other small industries. City people were subjected to similar treatment. Many were sent out to work in the communes or were drafted for labor on huge public works projects."
(Past to Present, MacMillan, 1963, p. 683)

Communism is seen as appealing to a frustrated population. "The idea of national communism by popular choice is somewhat difficult for Americans to accept. Why might communism appeal to large segment of a frustrated population?"
(Loretta Ryan on Inside World Politics, Allyn & Bacon, teacher's guide, p. 21)

"Tired of war and famine, they were ready to throw their support behind any strong government which could promise peace and stability for China. Few realized the price they would have to pay." (p. 570)

"Is progress in China worth the price the Chinese people are paying?" Though it is followed by the advice to consider this from different viewpoints, the previous text only gives one.
(Zelda S. Bradburd on The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 581)

Emphasis on Political and Social Restrictions

"Students may recognize that military organization is generally more efficient because of its strictness, lack of freedom, pinpointing of responsibility, and emphasis on loyalty or dedication. Such an organization would accomplish more than the usual industrial system and probably helped China catch up in its early days. Students may theorize that loyalty to a person's 'commander' and work unit would tend to replace his loyalties to his family and clan under such a system. Students may respond that this system might have created competition among workers and resulted in increased production. Some students may feel that

such a system could never be established in the U.S. except perhaps in grave national emergencies. Americans are too accustomed to individual freedom and to the many rights and benefits won for them by their unions."
(Cultures in Transition, Follett, 1973, teacher's guide, p. 439)

"But Communist China was really a dictatorship and Mao Tse-tung was its dictator. As in all dictatorships, the people of Communist China had little freedom, and they were forced to obey their government."
(Building the Modern World, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972, p. 679)

"China is rapidly industrializing under the communist government. However, to do this, the government has destroyed much of the old Chinese culture." (p. 253) Destroy, I think, is too strong a word. Much has also been preserved.
(Philip Allen on Man, His World and Cultures, Benefic, 1974)

"The Communist government has been able to impose this extraordinary regimentation in various ways."
(A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 451)

The "lacks" in China are emphasized in terms of what we consider luxuries--perfume, lipstick, colorful clothing (pp. 47-48). There is also emphasis on what China does not have in terms of freedoms. "Limitations on personal behavior are much more enforced and widespread than any American teenager would ever have experienced."
(Benita Stambler on China: Focus on Revolution, Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 85)

"What weaknesses do you see in the Maoist application of Marxist philosophy? Is it possible that Chinese communism is too dependent on Mao as its exemplar? What problems could suddenly emerge? Do you agree with the author's statement, '...His (Mao's) success may justify his views?' What might the author think makes Mao a success?"

"What do you think is missing in the life of Ching Chi? Are these qualities of life important? Why?"
(Inside World Politics, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, teacher's guide, p. 21)

> "A communist one-party system disguised as a 'real democracy.'" (p. 11)
>
> On the United States: "A functioning republic with competing branches of government." (p. 13)
> (Political Systems, Rand McNally, 1971, teacher's guide)

In addition to emphasizing restrictions on the political and social life in China, some texts have gone even further, and have spoken of massive killings on the pattern of those in the Soviet Union:

> "Among most Chinese, and especially among the young, loyalties to family and friends have given way to Communist party loyalties. Neighbors are taught to denounce one another. Children are taught to denounce their parents. Anyone convicted of 'deviation' may be sent to a remote district for 're-education through labor.' Hundreds of thousands of persons charged with disloyalty to the state have lost their lives. But in general the Communists have preferred the alternatives of humiliation, exile, and re-education. In these and other ways the Communists have succeeded in crushing individualism." (p. 570)
>
> "Even today, each person is entitled to only 5 yards of cloth per year." (p. 572)
>
> "All Chinese people, in fact, are constantly confronted with a military atmosphere of drill and propaganda, preparing against a supposed attack by 'American imperialists.'" (p. 576)
> (The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971)

> "In 1949 Mao's government began to make great changes in China....The government took control of everything, including the schools and businesses. Many people were killed or imprisoned." (p. 325)
> (Philip Allen on Man, His World and Cultures, Benefic, 1974)

Added the reader who cited the second of these two passages, "The number of people killed or imprisoned for long periods of time was the result of excesses on the village level, and as regrettable as this was, it represented only a tiny fraction of the population." He went on to argue that whereas "many translate the real horrors of mass killings and imprisonments that occurred in the Soviet Union under Stalin into the Chinese experience," actually events in the two countries were not parallel: "Witness the number of those who, purged during the Great Cultural Revolution, have returned to positions of authority...."

Comparisons of the People's Republic of China with such countries as the United States, Europe, Japan, and Taiwan also provide occasions for negative treatment of the P.R.C.

> "Both the Communists and the Nationalists undertook far-reaching programs to modernize the territories they ruled. The Peking government began a sweeping revolution, designed to transform China into a Communist state.
>
> "The Nationalist government, with considerable support from the U.S., began a program of reform on Taiwan aimed at creating a truly modern regime. The issue confronting these two groups was a tremendously important one: Which could first lift its people to a modern standard of living? Could either of them do so? The Nationalists succeeded in raising the standard of living on Taiwan." (p. 564)
>
> "But even if Taiwan did not provide a plan of development for others it at least demonstrated that economic development was possible for a nation in Asia." (p. 569) (emphasis added) (Andrea Miller on *Modern History: Europe Since 1600*, Silver Burdett, 1969)

> "There has been the vast, revolutionary, Marxist, doctrinaire, spasmodic, expanding, modernizing Communist mainland China." (p. 111) "In contrast, there has been the small island across the Formosa Strait. With a limited population and limited resources, Taiwan has succeeded, with the help of massive aid and technology from the United States, in becoming a modern industrialized state with a profitable world trade and a proud nationalistic and military stance." (p. 112) (*China: Today's World In Focus*, Ginn, 1973)

> On China, "Compared with workers in a free market economy--Japan, for example--the Chinese workers are poorly fed, clothed, and housed. In addition, they enjoy few of the new household goods that make life easier, such as vacuum cleaners, stoves, refrigerators, or electric heaters."
> (The Wide World, MacMillan, 1972, p. 558)

> "A poverty-stricken land: China is a 'have not' nation. Incomes and living standards are lower than those in more advanced industrial societies such as the United States, Western Europe, or Japan. Few Chinese enjoy such things as family cars, private telephones, or TV sets. Some areas are still without electricity and running water in the homes. Though the threat of mass starvation is much less today, the possibility of food shortage can never be taken lightly." (p. 10)
>
> "But mainland China's industrial output becomes a lot less impressive when its enormous population is taken into account. Living standards in Communist China will be a long time in catching up to those in the industrially developed nations--if they ever do."(p. 183)
> (China, Scholastic, 1973)

> "In Europe a farmer with mechanized equipment can harvest an acre of wheat in two days. In China a farmer lacking machines needs about thirty days to harvest an acre of wheat...."
> (Regions of The World, Science Research Associates, 1973, p. 188)

The issue of balance is at the core of the reader comments on the treatment of China. Two readers pointed out that glorifying the contemporary situation in China (a rare but not nonexistent approach) is not the answer to the problem-oriented approach of most texts:

> As a teacher, one cannot help but wonder why there is not a single statement in this book that could be attributed to either a KMT source, or a pro-KMT source. In the section dealing with the KMT-CCP schism, one such counter-evidence would seem to be very much in order.
> (Kai-yu Hsu on Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution, Addison Wesley, 1969)

We then move in the next selection to the early life of Mao Tse-tung. This is quite a jump. Not that other material isn't introduced later, but we soon get the idea that the author-editor, instead of viewing Mao and the CCP as being actors within the broader context of the revolution, even bringing that revolution to its culmination, see the revolution as merely a chain of events fundamentally developed and controlled by Mao, that the revolution is Mao. That is the flaw in the conceptual basis of the book. The revolution is Mao. That intricate history of events and people out of which Mao and the CCP, as only part of that history, were to emerge is almost totally neglected. Chiang Kai-shek isn't mentioned until page 25, the Kuomintang on page 27, and they were both as basic to the history of the revolution as were Mao and the CCP.

Counting pages can be a waste of energies, but the degree of bias is so large that I could't avoid the obvious. Out of 50 pages that in some way addressed themselves to political considerations, 21 were devoted to Mao and the CCP, and approximately 8 described Chiang, the KMT, and the Nationalist government. Of these 8, 5 were descriptions of the 1943-45 period, when the vitality of the Nationalist government was at its lowest, and corruption at its highest. That important period of the 1920's and 30's is scarcely touched upon. In the same fashion, 5 of the 21 pages focusing on the CCP describe the Long March. Fascinating though it may be, it tells us little about the more important factors of the revolution.

Examples of the distorted focus of the book include the following: "Sun Yat-sen gave China revolutionary ideals, but his successor, Chiang Kai-shek, concentrated only on power." (p. 25)

"Following the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, Chiang Kai-shek assumed a position of unchallenged authority and began an autocratic rule in China.

"...beginning in 1927, Chiang pressed his 'bandit extermination campaigns,' a systematic program designed to literally wipe out the left wing of the party." These campaigns were not launched against the "left wing of the party," but against CCP strongholds in the countryside. The author mistakenly uses the "Shanghai Coup of April 12, 1927" as an example of a "bandit extermination campaign." (p. 46)

> To follow this insult, the student at the conclusion of the monograph is asked to "compare and contrast the programs of the Kuomintang and the CCP. Which do you feel had a more realistic program?" (p. 63) There is no material in the text on which to base an answer to that question. This is also true of two other questions on the same page. "What factors contributed to the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Party in 1949?" And, "using as an example the institutions and conditions of traditional China, develop a general statement as to the cause of social revolution." This is really leading the student down the narrow path of conclusions stated as premises. This is dangerous stuff. (Philip Allen on Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution, Addison Wesley, 1969)

Contemporary Japan

Japan is often presented as Asia's success story. However, some texts do emphasize its problems with income, population, food supply, trade, housing, lack of machines, politics, and subway crowding. In the latter case, the problem is the result of successful modernization:

> "Although it is the most modern nation of the Orient, Japan is not without problems. You have learned that the population is large and growing larger." (inaccurate) "Japan must be able to provide more and more food for its people. It must also continue to carry on worldwide trade. It must sell goods to pay for its imports."
> (Loretta Ryan on Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 339)
>
> "Most houses in Japan are small. They are close together. There is no extra land in Japan. Most houses are made of wood. They have thin walls. In the city the roofs are made of tile."
> (Families and Social Needs, Laidlaw, 1974, p. 75)
>
> The statement here says that "The Japanese are among the most crowded people on earth." True, but I get the picture of people mashed into a subway, for example. I think that can give a distorted view of what Japan is really like. (p. 25)
>
> I have the same criticism for "Shinjuku Station," also told by an American. The gist

> of this is that in Shinjuku the pushing is so bad that people can lose their shoes when they get on a train and if they're lucky the shoes will be waiting for them (collected together by a platform guard) when they get back. Not that this never happens, but all the students are going to learn are the cocktail conversation type of horror story describing Tokyo. One can gather the same kinds of stories about New York or any big city. (p. 29)
> (Andrea Miller on Japan, Scott Foresman, 1971)

Transportation

One topic which illustrates the Western ethnocentrism of measuring by technological standards in the treatment of a wide range of Asian countries is transportation. Statements are frequently made without regard to whether elaborate transportation facilities are practical, necessary, or desired by the people in the region:

Emphasis on Lack of Transportation Facilities

> (Speaking of Laos) "There are no railroads and few automobile roads in this mountainous and hilly land." (p. 126)
>
> "It would be next to impossible to build a good railroad system in the Philippines because of the many islands. In all, there are less than one thousand miles of major railroads." (p. 107) I do not regard this passage, put so negatively, as a very useful contribution. A positive statement of what railroad does exist would have been less culturally arrogant.
> (John Echols on Eurasia, Ginn, 1969)

> "Transportation throughout much of the Far East is poor. Japan has a fine network of railroads. India has a large railway system too. When the British ruled India, they built roads in what are now India and Pakistan. Throughout much of the Far East, however, there are few good highways. The mountains, jungle, and desert make roads very difficult to build and maintain. In Red China, most people use the rivers for travel. (We know that the Communist government is now improving the transportation system inside China.)"
> (Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 258)

In other texts, the absence of cars is noted. As one scholar points out, comments on the lack of cars in Japan are inaccurate:

> In dealing with transportation the author writes, "In Japan bicycles are a common way of transportation" (p. 37) (getting rare) and "The people also use buses, streetcars, and taxis in the large cities." (and all those private cars)
> And "The picture at the right shows a kind of taxi which is pulled by bicycle power, while the passenger rides in comfort." (p. 73) (These went out with the 50's)
> (Harold Wright on Japan, Fideler, 1974)
> (Parenthetical remarks are those of the reader.)

Texts also dwell on the absence of cars in China without regard for the fact that two cars for every family is not a national goal of the Chinese themselves:

> "Not many people in China can afford cars."
> (People and the Land, Noble and Noble, 1974, teacher's guide, p. 61)
>
> "Even in big cities (in China), people ride to work on bicycles."
> (Ibid., p. 85)
>
> Teacher's note for picture of street in China: "Note crowded streets, absence of motor vehicles, sameness of clothing."
> (Zelda S. Bradburd on The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 571)
>
> "But what strikes the traveller most is the terribly poor transportation system in China. Railways are rare; the road network is unbelievably small. There are no cars on the roads, only a few trucks, often empty, for the Chinese are apparently not yet very competent at making efficient use of these vehicles. River transport comes to life when it rains and the rivers rise, but the merchant fleet is very primitive...."
> (Food and Survival in Asia, Addison Wesley, 1969, p. 19)

> "Although much development has taken place, there are still many parts of the country which are far removed from railroad lines. Animal or human power continues to be used for transportation, and there are millions of Chinese who have never traveled more than a few miles from their birthplaces."
> Road transportation? Water transport?
> (Tin-Mala on World Resources, Ginn, 1968)

> "There are not many automobiles in China."
> (The Earth, Globe, 1971, p. 92)

> "With all the progress that has been made, however, there is still only one automobile for thousands of persons in China. The United States, by comparison, has so many automobiles that everybody in the country could go for a ride at one time."
> (A World View, Silver Burdett, 1968, p. 300)

Moreover, the failure of most Asian families to own a late-model American car becomes in many texts a symbol for the backwardness and naiveté which is attributed to the typical rural Asian, as in this example from a textbook on India:

> "Most Indians living in village India find machinery difficult to control or understand. Machines are a mystery. The automobile is a constant source of wonder to Indian peasants. Westerners who ride in cars almost from birth on learn very quickly that in order to stay on a truck as it turns a corner, one must lean into the turn. If not, the force will exert pressure on one's body and cause one to be thrown off balance--and possibly off the truck! Many villagers in India so rarely ride in vehicles that they fail to correct for this simple principle of physics. In learning to drive an auto, they find it difficult to go around curves smoothly. At 35 to 60 miles per hour, they are constantly overturning autos, trucks, and buses because they find themselves going off the road and jerking the wheel in order to frantically make the last-second adjustment necessary to stay on the road.
>
> "Time and practice, of course, solve this problem. Americans started with slow-moving Model-T Fords and, as a nation, over the years built and became adept at driving cars traveling

> at sixty to eighty mile-an-hcur speeds on modern four-lane to eight-lane freeways. Indians are being thrust into the automobile age without a corresponding Model-T phase."
>
> The implication is that Indians are completely unable to handle technology. It is not mentioned that India is the sixth largest industrial power. Furthermore Indians are able to keep automobiles running which would be on the scrap heap elsewhere.
> (Donald Johnson on India: Focus on Change, Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 63)

Professor Johnson's comments on this passage might be applied to many textbook treatments of Asia: "The context of the book is so ethnocentric that almost the entire view of India is one of superstition, backwardness, and fear of driving cars. The assumptions of the book are based on our way of life as the desired mode of social organization."

Alternatives to the Problem Approach

No one would argue that there are no social, economic, or political problems in Asia. However, the use of technological development, material worth, and American or Western social and political organization as the only standards of measurement cannot provide a full picture of any society. In most cases the readers' quarrel is with what has been left out. They objected to textbooks which deal with the problems in a simplistic, inaccurate fashion without examining any of the satisfactions of life from Asian points of view. They protested one-sided comparisons which neglect to acknowledge American problems.

Reviewers wrote that the failure to present complete and accurate information and to consider alternative standards of measurement can lead to a more unfavorable view of Asia than is actually justified:

> "The average yearly income (in India) is $70." This may be so, but the remark should be balanced by a statement of the buying power of the rupee, and the fact that home-grown food and barter make the situation less awful than the simple economic statement implies.
> (Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972, p. 106)

> "Americans' life expectancy is 70 years and our annual per capita income is over $3,500; the statistics for Indians are 52 years and under $100!" [sic] The increase in life expectancy since independence is not noted. Adjustment for rural, agrarian life style is not offered.
> (Colleen Kelly on Story of Nations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973, p. 574)

Some readers pointed out that changing the yardsticks used for cross-cultural comparisons can change the conclusions. Using certain standards such as lifespan or number of cars can produce a favorable picture of the U.S. and a dismal one of Asia. The following readers' comments shows how applying alternative standards can produce a different picture of a society:

> "When a girl is born in the United States or Canada, it is expected that she will live to an age of 74. When a girl is born in Cambodia, she is expected to live to 43, a lifespan of 31 years less. In other parts of Southeast Asia the lifespan is also much shorter than one finds in the more developed parts of the world, such as Northwest Europe and the United States. What are the chief reasons for these differences? The chief reasons are the inadequate foods that are eaten, the poor methods of sanitation to help prevent disease, and the shortage of doctors and nurses available to take care of the sick." (p. 381)
>
> The point of reference for the author is the U.S. In answering the question about why the difference in lifespans, he should also have mentioned the extraordinary U.S. consumption of the world's food and energy--and what that does to the availability of food for Asia. Instead of looking at what accounts for the long U.S. lifespan, he considered the U.S. the norm and Southeast Asia the oddity. One hundred pages later

he makes the same point about the millions of South Asians but continues to regard the U.S. as the norm and Asians as the people who need explaining.
(Reader comment on The Afro-Asian World, Allyn & Bacon, 1972)

"In the past decade, the standard of living for the average Japanese has risen sharply, although it still does not approach American standards. Furthermore, the average Japanese is literate, and his children have an excellent chance of completing junior high school, possibly even high school."

Actually this all depends upon how we measure a "standard of living." Health care tends to be better in Japan, and public education is certainly better. In this respect the second sentence is laughable. Over 95 per cent of Japanese are literate (in a language with a much more difficult writing system than that of English) and most go to high school.
(Roland Lange on Japan, Ally in the Far East, Laidlaw, 1967)

I want to draw a contrast between the statements about "industrialized" and "nonindustrial" countries that are presented on p. 428. The picture of health care in "industrialized" countries is distorted to create an exaggerated impression and in the "nonindustrial" countries the emphasis is all on the negative:

"Wonder drugs, hospital care, and the services of specialists are expensive. In the United States, in recent years, several health insurance plans have been developed to bring good medical care to everyone. In general, most people in industrial countries receive medical care when they need it." (This is not so.)

"In the non-industrial countries, there is a shortage of medical care. There are few doctors, few hospitals, and little modern equipment. Sanitation is poor. Also, many people do not eat the right foods or enough food to keep healthy." (What about the nutrition problems in the supposedly well-fed U.S.? People overweight, consumption of junk food--and in some parts of the country, people not getting enough food.)

"Many diseases that have been brought under control in North America and Europe, such as malaria and small pox, are still serious problems

> in South America, Africa, and Asia." (The author neglects to mention high cancer rates in the United States.)
> (Andrea Miller on World Cultures: Past and Present, Harper & Row, 1964)

Two readers found examples, on the other hand, which did achieve a noteworthy balance. They do justice to the economic realities in Asian societies (at the time of writing) without losing consciousness of other standards of measurement:

> "By the yardsticks used throughout much of the Western world, Cambodia would certainly be classified an 'underdeveloped nation.' Life expectancy is estimated somewhere between 30 and 40 years. The death rate among the newly born runs as high as 50 per cent. More than half of the population can neither read nor write.
>
> "Yet these statistics do not completely measure the life of a people. For in any discussion of 'standard of living' the first step should be to determine whose standard of living is being talked about.
>
> "The average Cambodian, for example, probably does not feel at all deprived. In peacetime, he or she lives in a generous land which, with some hard work, usually provides all the basic needs. 'Our bowls are always full' is a Cambodian saying."
> (Southeast Asia, Scholastic, 1974, pp. 43-44)

> Here is a positive example of presenting rural life which is in marked contrast to the way most books go about such things. Mr. Swearer tries to show us that "modernity" and "standard of living" is something that is experienced differently by different cultures. I at least do not feel that "putting down" of the people as I do in most texts.
>
> "The standard of living in rural Southeast Asia, from our point of view, might seem only slightly above subsistence level. We would find it difficult to live without running water, refrigerators, package foods, and the host of conveniences surrounding us. The typical one or two room dwelling made of bamboo and palm leaves would strike us as interesting to visit but impossible to live in. The privacy

valued by most Americans is not part of the Southeast Asian peasant's life. Life is simple and, consequently, needs are not so great. The competitive drive which so dominates our urban, industrialized society is largely lacking in the peasant society of Southeast Asia. It is interesting that even most of the games played by young people are noncompetitive in nature.

"Due to the relatively small size and interdependent nature of the villages, rural life tends to be typified by harmonious community relations. They include a democratic election of village officers, communal plowing and land ownership, and various forms of mutual aid. Nearly an entire village participated in the dedication of a new house in a small village in northern Thailand recently. Hunters went into a jungle and shot a wild boar which they contributed to a village feast. Most of the members of the village came to pay a visit to the owner of the house to wish him well and sample some of the special treats he had prepared. It was an occasion largely foreign to our experience, but one with which our early forefathers had more in common. In fact, it was not totally unlike an Amish barn raising in our own country today." (p. 23)

"Many of us in the United States have grown up in a highly controlled environment. Modern machines have eased the burden of physical labor; lighting and heating systems enable us to alter the pattern of hot to cold, light to darkness; and modern modes of transportation and communication have vastly reduced conceptions of time and space. Our industrialized, highly mechanized world view greatly conditions our behavior and attitudes....While modernity is beginning to change life in many parts of rural Southeast Asia, these societies are still largely traditional. The forces of nature which determine the successful rice harvest are to be placated rather than controlled, and the major values of the human community are still centered about the family and religion. The most important celebrations revolve around the agricultural calendar, significant occurrences in family life such as weddings and funerals, and the major religious events of Buddhism, Islam, or Hinduism." (p. 19)

(Andrea Miller on The Third World: Southeast Asia, Pendulum, 1973)

These examples have been quoted at length to illustrate rare cases where textbook authors present a sympathetic view of unmechanized societies. The latter is a particularly good example of a text that deals with festivals, religions, weddings, and funerals, thus demonstrating a fuller view of life than the economic and technological.

Self-Interest as a Justification for Studying Asia

Some textbooks not only describe Asia from a Western point of view, but also magnify the role of Americans and Europeans in Asia. Although readers reported a variety of justifications for studying Asia, the most frequent reason given is American self-interest. When asked if texts justified the study of Asia in terms of its strategic importance to the United States (question 1q), reviewers reported examples of this approach in 33 books.

> "The political stability of the region (the Far East) is vital to our security, and we have given much economic aid to the Far East to prevent the spread of communism. We consider the safety of the area necessary to our defense, and we have military pacts with several Far Eastern nations as well as having troops stationed on their soil. Our new state, and our island possessions and trust territories, serve as stepping stones to the once distant area and have bound our peoples in closer economic and cultural ties. We buy many needed raw materials from the Far East and we sell back to its people the manufactured goods they do not as yet produce themselves." (teacher's guide, p. 60)
>
> "First, by helping the less-developed nations raise their standards of living, we are creating future customers for American goods and those of our European allies. Second, most of this country's leaders believe that people who are well fed and well clothed are more capable of resisting the influence of communism." (p. 540)
> (World Geography, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971)

> "Because many of these countries (of Southeast Asia) named above are new and in a far corner of Asia, they may be unfamiliar to you. Nevertheless, these countries are important to the world and the United States....The countries of Southeast Asia have a strategic location. From the map you can see that the countries of Southeast Asia are either located on islands or are part of a peninsula. Sea trade from China and Japan to such places as India, Africa, and Europe must also necessarily pass these islands or around the peninsula. More particularly, it can be seen that a few straits offer the best location for sea routes."
> (Asia, Ginn, 1965, p. 103) (emphasis added)

> "If we are wise, we shall realize that nothing important can happen in any part of the world (even Asia) without in some way affecting us. It will make a difference to us whether Asia has peace."
>
> "We may not care to get mixed up in the problems of government in India (Where has he mentioned their successes or our mistakes?) or Southeast Asia, but it will be to our interest that those who do have responsibility for those things shall be our friends, and that the native people of those distant lands shall be able to live peacefully and happily with as democratic a government as they are able to manage."
> (Reader comment on Eastern Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1968, p. 363)

Asia as a Stage for Western History

Readers reported that Asia was seen as a stage for Western history in 48 out of the 263 books. The reviewers also commented that so-called world history texts seemed to be essentially Western histories; 15.6 per cent of the 42 world history texts in the sample was devoted to Asia, while 42 per cent concentrated on North American and European history. One reader found that only 20 pages in a 512 page book entitled The Human Adventure (Addison Wesley, 1972) were concerned with Asia, while another wrote:

> A disproportion is notable in allocation of Asian as compared to Western content. While ancient Egypt is given 29 pages, the Harappan civilization is noted

> in one half page. In the second chapter dealing with ancient civilizations, mention is made of the Indus civilization (p. 112) and its location noted on a map (same page). The same observation is made for the Huang Ho (River) civilization. One chart included in the book shows the development of the roman alphabet (p. 58). It would be equally interesting to see Chinese characters or Sanskrit...but we don't. Even the placement of the Asia section, towards the end of the book, seems to indicate that this is just tagged on, therefore an afterthought, therefore not important. (Colleen Kelly on Story of Nations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973)

Two readers noticed that small countries in Europe receive more attention than small countries in Asia:

> Within the major emphasis on the West, the Low Countries: Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, are allotted 23 pages while... Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka (called Ceylon), Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, North and South Viet Nam, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines are allocated a total of 29 pages. For China, Korea, and Japan, 43 pages are set aside.
> (Colleen Kelly on Story of Nations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973)

European countries:

Luxembourg----10 paragraphs---Population 331,000
Netherlands---39 paragraphs---Population 12 million
Liechtenstein- 3 paragraphs---Population 19,000
Belgium-------24 paragraphs---Population 9 million

Asian countries:

Laos---------- 3 paragraphs---Population 2 million
Viet Nam------ 5 paragraphs---Population 37 million
Burma--------- 6 paragraphs---Population 26 million
Thailand------11 paragraphs---Population 33 million
Cambodia------ 2 paragraphs---Population 6 3/4 million

(Figures based on statistics from Eastern Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1968. Southeast Asian figures are outdated.)

Several readers observed that when Asia is presented, relations with the West are emphasized:

> In the light of the authors' materialistic orientation, it is not surprising that Asia often appears more a setting for European or American activity. This is reflected in the stated purpose of Chapter 13, which is to trace development in India, China, Japan, and Southeast Asia so that "...it will be possible to understand how the people of these areas lived, and how their lives were affected when they had contact with the West."
> (William Skowronski on The Record of Mankind, D. C. Heath, 1970, p. 219)
>
> Three out of six pages are devoted to U.S. involvement with Viet Nam in a survey that covers the history of all of Southeast Asia through all time. (pp. 580-582)
>
> The entire "perspective" for the Far East deals with Western contact and presents a picture of Asia as unimportant--"remote"--until the West fortuitously discovered it for purposes of trade and war.
> (Colleen Kelly on Story of Nations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973, pp. 591-601)
>
> For China, of nineteen pages of history, fifteen are devoted to events after contact with the West and only four pages are given to the three thousand years prior to that event....This emphasis on contact with the West seems to give much weight to foreign influences in Asian societies and perhaps underestimates the indigenous forces at work. Furthermore, many of the problems that the West is pictured as helping to solve in Asia were initially caused by Western presence. For example, famine in India.
> (Jean and Donald Johnson on Exploring World Cultures, Ginn, 1974, p. 220)

Europeans and Americans as "Helpers" in Asia

Reports demonstrated that 74 texts stressed the role of Europeans and Americans in Asia to the extent that Asian initiative and strength were minimized (Question 11). A few texts did provide a balanced view of Western involvement with Asia. However, others not only emphasized the historical Western influence, they also gave examples from contemporary events, and promoted the view that the United States should play a larger role in Asia in the future. The relations described are usually in the political, economic, or technological arena. Europeans and Americans are often seen in a helpful light. Numerous examples can be cited, including: the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Indochina, the British in India, the United States in Japan and the Philippines, and the United States as defender of Asia against Communism.

A few texts do state that Western presence in Asia has not always been beneficial:

> "Unlike the Indians who colonized Funan, Champa, and the early kingdoms of Southeast Asia, the Westerner made little attempt to become part of Asian culture. He brought with him Britain, France, Holland and America. If you were to visit Singapore today, for example, you would be struck by the impressive buildings constructed under the British colonial administration....The exclusiveness of the European elites, as suggested by the above examples, upset the internal social structure and became a source of deep resentment. It implied that European culture and those who brought it were superior to the Southeast Asians."
> (Southeast Asia, Pendulum, 1973, p. 55)

> "Millions of Africans and Asians lost their lives, and millions more were deprived of their freedom and dignity as the result of their domination by imperialist powers."
> (The Human Adventure, Addison Wesley, 1972, p. 465)

And one text almost completely ignores the role of the West:

> Outside of a couple of generalized paragraphs of introductory narrative, there are no documents on the Western impact of imperialism and the Chinese response--ultimately, the development of a workable nationalism. This seems to me to be a serious defect in a book that purports to see "through Chinese eyes," that is subtitled "A

> Nation Stands Up," and that includes the Foolish Old Man Story, in which Mao explicity refers to casting off the burdens of both feudalism and imperialism....
>
> It is true, of course, that one doesn't want to present Chinese history as beginning with the coming of the West. But it doesn't seem to me that implying that history began in 1949 is a very constructive alternative. Is the Revolution to be treated as synonymous with the life of the political entity, the P.R.C? Or should it be treated as a broader process of change and struggle?
> (David Narot on Through Chinese Eyes, Praeger, 1974)

But the majority of texts that discussed Asia from a historical point of view overemphasized the role of Westerners in Asia and neglected the self-interest motivation of some.

Europeans in Southeast Asia

Mining and forestry techniques, agricultural methods, political education, housing, and religion are some of the European contributions stressed by the textbooks:

> "The old colonial system, which was widespread in Southeast Asia until 1945, was responsible for much of the economic growth and development of the area....Mining and scientific forestry are both of great value to the local population."
> (World Geography Today, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, p. 330)

> "The native peoples of Southeast Asia did not prove to be good workers."(p. 51)"...The French also developed other kinds of plantations, and tried to do something about the conditions of overcrowding in the older rice areas. In the foot-hills north and northeast of Saigon, they cleared away the forest and...they also tried to get people in the densely populated delta plains of the Annam coast to move into the mountains and there to plant a variety of commercial crops." (p. 572)
> (The Wide World, MacMillan, 1972)

> "In the past, and even today, the local people have complained that their own countries have not benefited from the wealth produced by the plantations. The foreign businessmen have reaped the wealth, it is said. Yet, it is true that the people who work on the plantations learn how to grow and prepare new crops, such as rubber. If they leave the plantation and return to their own villages, they are able to plant these crops on their own land." (emphasis added) (The World Around Us, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1965, p. 108)
>
> "It so happened that Europeans appeared on the scene at a time when nearly all Asian rulers were weak and unable to control their own territories. The Europeans who came to trade eventually had to step in to rule, in order to protect their own trading companies." (The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 538)
>
> "The Europeans brought many changes to Southeast Asia. They introduced plantation farming. On a plantation, one crop was grown. It was a crop such as coffee....The natives were not pleased with this kind of farming because many of them were forced to leave their villages and fields to work on the large plantations. The Europeans also opened up mines and then built roads and railroads into the jungles to carry the products of the mines to the port cities. They introduced the Christian religion. They opened schools and hospitals and then tried to end the many tribal wars." (Exploring The Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 351)

Professor Daniel Lev wrote that the overemphasis on the West in modern Southeast Asian history is a natural follow-up to a preoccupation with Indian and Chinese influences in earlier periods:

> Despite the introduction, the actual discussion of Southeast Asia incorporates a number of outdated and simplistic myths and assumptions that are at least misleading and likely to reinforce American condescension towards countries of the region.
>
> For example, at p. 432, the text takes the usual first step of assuming that Southeast Asia had little but some cultivation techniques until the Indians and Chinese came with higher

cultures that the Southeast Asians were duly impressed by and so adopted. Van Leur's work should dispel such notions of culture change. But the point is that taking this view leads to the easy assumption later that Southeast Asia is merely receptive of the "West." Indeed, at p. 435, the text goes on to state that "the adoption of western ways is going on more swiftly than ever." This, the text explains, means that there are skyscrapers in Makati, nice houses in Kuala Lumpur, new factories here and there, and so on.

The essential view that the West is basically modern and good creeps in oddly here and there, as in the point at p. 437 that King Bhumipol "has a western point of view and wants his country to learn such western ways as may be useful to her."
(Daniel Lev on Culture Regions in The Eastern Hemisphere, D. C. Heath, 1971)

British in India

The British receive much credit for their role in India:

"For hundreds of years, Indians had been governed by rulers who were not chosen by the people. Those rulers often changed the laws to suit themselves. But, from the British, the Indians learned that there were other kinds of government. They learned two big things." These two big things turn out to be representative government and rule of law. I see what they are getting at, but the way they have said it implies that the British came to India and set up representative government, which clearly was not the case.
(Nancy Lanoue on The Indian Subcontinent, Allyn & Bacon, 1971, p. 46)

"During the many years the British occupied India, new ideas and ways were introduced. The British contributions to India were railroads, schools, and a European form of government. Under British rule, the people of India also learned a little about manufacturing."
(The World Around Us, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1965, p. 136)

"The British brought the whole country together under national government."
(Man The Toolmaker, Follett, 1973, p. 262)

> "With all the natural wealth that India has, it seems strange that so much poverty should still be found within the peninsula. The caste system can take the blame for much of this situation. Those who dislike the British have blamed them for India's lack of progress. This claim is unfair, for the British brought to India many of the material improvements the subcontinent has received."
> (Eastern Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1968, p. 348)
>
> "...Such missionary activity benefited India both spiritually and materially."
> (The Human Achievement, Silver Burdett, 1970, p. 570)
>
> The implication of the historical approach is that with the coming of the British, French, and others, India moved out of medieval darkness into the light of industrialization.
> (Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972)
>
> More attention is paid to the Black Hole of Calcutta than to the British treatment of Indians.
> (Loretta Ryan on A World History, Ginn, 1969, p. 384)

One irate reader complained at length about the treatment of the Indian Mutiny of 1857:

> An example of one section that left me extremely riled and left so much unsaid was that which dealt with the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The authors in their two-paragraph description state that, "The primary cause of the revolt was the issuing of new cartridges that had been greased with animal fat." This is the view expressed by most British-born Indian historians and officers of the British East India Company military. Few British would want to admit that Company rule was having at times disastrous effects on the economic, social, and religious fabric of traditional India. The bad side of colonial rule was something these authors could not (would not?) understand. Indian historians, on the other hand, have at times carried the "mutiny" to an extreme by portraying it not as a revolt but as an organized and carefully executed war of independence. Would it not be more meaningful for a student to realize that there are quite a few interpretations to the "mutiny"?
> (Peter Kapenga on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972, p. 71)

American Role in Asian History

The role of the United States in Asian History is not neglected; textbooks focus on American involvement in Japan and the Philippines:

Japan

> The text discusses the relationship between the United States and the Far East as a helping relationship. For example, it explains the opening of Japan as a reflection of American concern for treatment of sailors and trade. Once the doors were open, notes the text, the Japanese adopted many ideas of Western culture. As a result, Japan became the "most advanced and most powerful nation in the Far East" within a few years. Later, after Americans "set out to bring democracy to Japan," Japan became democratic. Japanese viewpoints regarding American intervention and occupation, however, are not noted.
> (James Hantula on Knowing Our Neighbors in the Eastern Hemisphere, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968)
>
> "After Commodore Perry's visit, Japan's leaders realized their country was backward. They began to build factories and railroads."
> (The Afro-Asian World, Allyn & Bacon, 1972, p. 168)
> (The same sentence appears on p. 391, Our World and Its Peoples by the same author.)
>
> Explanation of Japanese decision to open doors to Perry: "Perry went to Japan with a small fleet and succeeded in getting the Japanese leaders to give him a little attention. Perry returned the next year with a larger fleet. He brought with him things which the Japanese did not have, among them a little railroad....It must have been quite funny to watch some of the stern Japanese lords riding on top of the little cars of Perry's miniature railroad! He succeeded in getting an agreement with the Shogun...." (p. 377)
>
> No mention of the big guns or the Japanese view of the "Black Ships." Story about railroad rides makes Japanese look ridiculous.
> (Reader comment on Eastern Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1968)
>
> The United States' role in the Occupation is magnified:

"Democracy Comes to Japan" (p. 268). The author describes the system as it operated on paper and implies that thanks to the U.S. influence during the Occupation, the Japanese political system was rapidly transformed. This is highly simplistic and misleading. It ignores Japanese democratic movements in the 1920's. It also conveys the impression that the Japanese are like silly putty.
(Reader comment on The Afro-Asian World, Allyn & Bacon, 1972)

"The United States' occupation authorities, who ruled Japan for seven years, worked hard to set new directions for Japan....The occupation authorities instituted many significant changes in Japanese life. Japan was given a democratic constitution, guaranteeing the people the right to participate in their government. Women were given the vote....Schoolbooks were rewritten to teach Japanese children the ways of democracy. The Japanese people had taken enthusiastically to their new form of government, and to the new freedom in their personal lives."
(The World Today, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1971, p. 585)

"After the war, a new government was started in Japan with the help of the United States. Although the emperor remained, the new government gave more freedoms to the people. Lands were taken away from large landholders and divided among the people. Japan was forbidden to have an army. Both men and women were given the right to vote. Japan recovered quickly from the war. Today, the Japanese goods are again being sold throughout the world and the people have the highest standard of living in Asia."
(Exploring The Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 327)

There is too much MacArthur.
(Ruth Howard on Japan: Today's World in Focus, Ginn, 1968)

United States in the Philippines

The relationship between the United States and the Philippines is also seen as a teacher-student relationship:

"Many people in the United States felt that the

> Filipinos had the right to be independent, but they did not feel that the Filipinos were ready to govern themselves. For the first time in world history, a conquering country embarked on a nation-wide campaign to educate a vanquished people in the ways of a democratic government.
>
> "American school teachers sailed for the Philippines. There were no English teachers for the new schools. There were no maps, no paper, no materials of any kind. All of these had to be sent from America. Philippine children, attending school for the first time, were taught English. Then they could read American books. They read American history and learned about Washington, Patrick Henry, and our other American heroes." (p. 55)
>
> "Between this young republic and the United States there is a bond of kinship and affection. From the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898 until 1946, the United States government governed the Philippines. During this period the Americans trained the people of the Philippines in self-government, introduced a public school system, and helped improve economic and social conditions. Today our former pupil is one of the leading democracies of Southeastern Asia." (p. 5)
>
> "Despite the fact that their country lies at the gateway to the Orient, the Filipinos are more western than eastern in their ways. Their culture has been greatly influenced by three centuries of Spanish rule and by nearly fifty years of American government." (p. 6)
> (Understanding The Philippines, Laidlaw, 1968)

Dr. Michael Gerber, who spent three years in the Philippines, wrote:

> The "American colonialist" emphasis begins on the front cover with a picture of the American Embassy. The map on the inside of the cover refers to the Philippines as "Philippine Islands." This was the term used under American domination. Several quotations from the text reinforce the colonialist approach: "The Americans brought many changes. Filipinos came very strongly into contact with modern ways of thinking and living." (p. 83) "The greatest influence of Americans was on our public schools and in our health program." (p. 83) "The Filipinos cooperated with the Americans, and education advanced faster in the Philippines than in any other Asian land." (p. 84) (Story of the Philippines, McCormick-Mathers, 1968)

Contemporary U.S. Role in Asia

Characteristic of some texts is an emphasis on the American role in Asian humanitarian and technical affairs:

> "Today many individual groups and governments are trying to help the people of underfed and underdeveloped countries. The U.S. has been a leader in these efforts. We have supplied food, tools, machines, doctors, engineers, agricultural experts, and many millions of dollars to many such countries. The main idea is to help people to help themselves."
> (Your Country and The World, Ginn, 1966, p. 149)
>
> "With Western help, American surplus food, and improved transportation, the devastating famines of a few decades ago are currently being thwarted."
> (Inside World Politics, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 231)
>
> "The technical cooperation program (of AID) has spread American techniques throughout the world and has helped underdeveloped areas start out on the road to social and economic improvement."
> (World Geography, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971, p. 541)
>
> "The United States has tried to help many of these underdeveloped nations with money loans and gifts. It also sends Peace Corps workers who are teachers, nurses and other trained people to any nation that asks for them."
> (Exploring World History, Globe, 1969, p. 578)
>
> "Missionaries teach people how to grow more and better food. Some missionaries are doctors and nurses who care for the sick. As the people are helped, they are also taught about the work of the church.
>
> "The Peace Corps is another organization that helps people in underdeveloped nations. Men and women in the Peace Corps study about the country where they are to be sent. They are trained to do the things that are most needed by the people in that country." (p. 309)
>
> Here is a picture of workers constructing a dam in India. The text says: "This project is not being built in the United States. It will not help the United States. Yet money and aid from the United States are helping to build it.

> "How can this kind of help make life better for people all over the world? How could the underdeveloped nations improve their ways of life without outside help? Why is it better for people to work together?" (p. 311)
> (Man and The Regions of The World, Benefic, 1974)

> "Can you think of any ways in which we could help people in other countries? Maybe we have learned how to cure a disease and the doctors in other countries do not know this yet. We could help them learn about it. We know a lot about traveling in space. Maybe we could work with other countries to help people learn about traveling in space."
> (Communities We Build, Follett, 1973, p. 152)

The following quotations are only a few of the passages excerpted from one book by Professor John Echols to illustrate a preoccupation with American assistance to Laos:

> Since the text was written by what appears to have been an ex-AID employee (although I cannot prove this), it is not surprising that examples of U.S. and other foreign aid are cited.
>
> There is mention of U.S. aid as the plane is flying from Bangkok to Vientiane. "There were few roads. But David did see one black-top road over which their plane flew most of the time. 'That is the Friendship Highway, built by Thailand and the United States,' said one of the Lao students. 'It goes across Thailand and makes driving to Bangkok very easy.'" (p. 10)
>
> "'This is the National Education Center,' said his father. 'It is to help teachers learn to teach. The United States helps by sending teachers and people who direct the school and write needed textbooks.'" (p. 32)
>
> "Many of the buildings are new. They have been built with money from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Our government is lending a helping hand to developing countries like Laos." (p. 33)
>
> "If we are to help these people have a better life, we must help them live in their country as it is." (p. 34)

> (caption): "The people shown below are refugees from the north who are living in temporary houses in central Laos. Until they can be permanently settled, the United States is providing food and emergency supplies." (p. 75)
>
> "This is a (Kha) refugee camp, built with help from the United States government. There is a school in the village. The people are also getting help with farming methods and health practices." (p. 86)
>
> "With help from other countries, among them the United States, Laos is building schools and training teachers." (p. 87)
>
> Professor Echols comments:
>
> I don't believe that the author is deliberately trying to say that the Laos have little initiative or influence, but one could get that impression from some of the citations I have listed above.
> (John Echols on The Story of Laos, MacMillan, 1967)

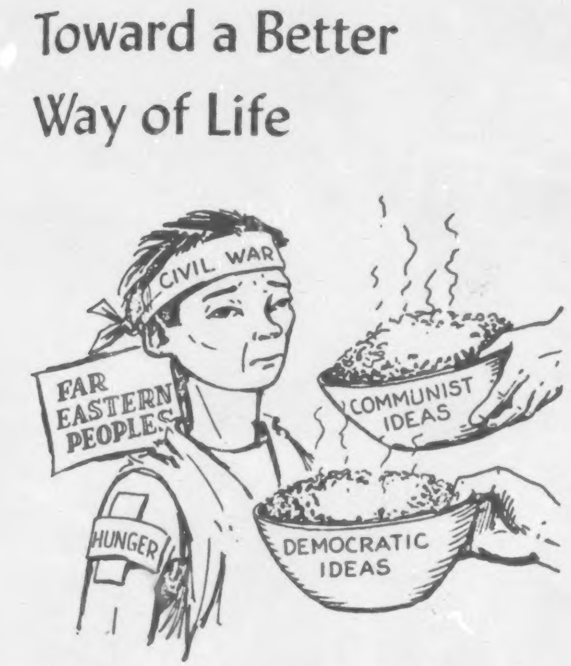
One reader observed some political naiveté in the reason offered by the text for all this American assistance to Asians:

> "Why have other countries such as the United States, helped India build huge dams?" (p. 149)
> Political naiveté is reflected in the answer:
> "The U.S. has helped India build dams because of its concern for the many people in India who are starving for lack of food." (teacher's guide, p. 87)
> (Patricia Genz on Journey Through Many Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1969)

In the preceding texts the writers neglect to point out that humanitarian motives are sometimes very much mixed with those of self-interest. A more balanced discussion would lessen the impression of Asia the weak as opposed to America the powerful. In discussions of American military and strategic roles in Asia which follow, the emphasis is also placed on American power.

U.S. Military and Strategic Role in Asia

The questionnaire did not ask readers to analyze textbook positions on Communism. Nevertheless, the readers of 31 books reported that Communism was seen as a threat to Asia which demanded a strong American defense. This point of view appeared in both elementary and secondary books--including those published in 1974 as well as in the early 1960's:



(Exploring The Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 261)

One finds the Cold War assumption that Communists, promoted by China, are lurking around trying to overthrow governments in Southeast Asia, that all civil wars and internal dissension in Southeast Asian countries are inspired by Communists. (Daniel Lev on Exploring The Non-Western World, Globe, 1971)

"The threat of Communism, the need to work together to build industry, and the desire for peace and good friendship with one another may bring greater regional unity to this subregion in the years ahead."
(Our World and Its People, Allyn & Bacon, 1972 p. 453)

"With lack of adequate capital and technical training, the Indonesians become ripe for the false promise of Communism."
(World Geography, Ginn, 1974, p. 459)

"The West realizes that if India is unable to create a successful democracy, the struggle against communism in Asia will be lost."
(Story of Nations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973, p. 561)

"As you read earlier, the Cold War was a struggle between the free nations and the Communist nations. Today, this struggle between freedom and Communism is still going on, particularly in Asia."
(Building The Modern World, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972, p. 684)

There is also a good deal of Cold War commentary in the text. Communists are seen as evil and everywhere to blame for internal dissension; the United States is pictured as helping to bring progress and stability.
(Daniel Lev on Culture Regions In The Eastern Hemisphere, D. C. Heath, 1971)

U.S. Role In Defense Against Communism

"The leaders of Communist China do not believe in any form of coexistence.... Communism and democracy and free enterprise... cannot continue to exist in the world at the same time. The Chinese Communists believe in a forceful takeover and the use, when they are ready, of nuclear weapons. They consider the U.S. as their main enemy. Our country stands in the way of their plans to seize other countries."
(Your Country and The World, Ginn, 1966, p. 407)

"One of the most active forces against Communism has been the United States. We hope to show Japan that it is better to have a democracy and freedom rather than Communism."
(How People Live in Japan, Benefic, 1972, p. 89)

"The Communist challenge in Southeast Asia has been of the greatest concern to the United States in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's....The United States and other nations, cooperating with the United Nations, turned back the invaders....The United States believes that to keep the world free and to let newly independent countries keep their freedom, it is necessary to answer the Communist challenge. It has done so in a number of ways." (No definition of the "free" is offered.)

"...Within each region there are new nations coping with the problems that have come with independence. Some of these nations have become Communist. The United States has promised free Asian nations help in resisting any attempts by Communist forces to seize power. Besides offering military aid, the United States hopes to help in the development of Asia."
(Reader comment on The Afro-Asian World, Allyn & Bacon, 1972, p. 375)

Viet Nam

"There is still no peace in the Far East. Vietnam has been divided into two parts. The northern part is Communist. It is trying to force Communist rule on South Vietnam. United States' soldiers are in that country trying to prevent it from being taken over entirely by the Communists."
(Exploring a Changing World, Globe, 1968, p. 445)

"Red China is using its growing power throughout the region....If they (nations trying for democratic forms of government) fail, much of the Far East will be closed to the people of the free world. American soldiers and arms have been sent to Southeast Asia to help keep South Vietnam free of communism."
(Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 227)

"The United States has sent more and more men to South Vietnam to keep that land free from Communist rule. Working with the Vietnamese, our government hopes to bring peace to that troubled part of the world."
(Ibid., p. 351)

"The Vietnam War was a long and terrible war, but it prevented North Vietnam from taking over South Vietnam."
(Building The Modern World, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972, p. 688)

Western Ethnocentrism in the Selection and Organization of Materials

While 20 readers reported selected terms or phrases that could be edited to reduce cultural arrogance, many more readers replied that Western ethnocentrism was deeply rooted in the topics selected for coverage and the organization of materials. Jean and Donald Johnson wrote that textbook authors should ask different questions.

> The sum effect of the text would not be lessened by editing out selected phrases. Whole new areas would have to be added. For example, instead of worrying about editing out that caste is based on "social inequalities" it would be more profitable to consider how caste gives meaning and security to life or the advantages and disadvantages of a society based on dharma rather than competition. In what ways is nationhood relevant to the Indian experience? How has India dealt with this diversity?...To some extent the same criticism applies to China. Rather than constantly discussing who is inferior or superior in the family system, wouldn't it be more accurate to describe the Confucian family system, as it actually operated in its own value system? The cultures of Asia are viewed in this text not so much from either outside or inside, but rather from some abstract historical point of view which sees events marching on in a straight line almost independent of the people who are participating in it. The societies are not presented so much as exotic or alien as they are lifeless and robbed of any human drama which might draw young students into the nexus of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, or Southeast Asian life and culture.
> (Jean and Donald Johnson on Exploring World Cultures, Ginn, 1974)

Awareness of Ethnocentrism

Many textbook authors are evidently unaware of the extent to which the self-centered outlook permeates their work, slanting the presentation of Asia. The following excerpt is from the teacher's guide to a text which emphasizes the poverty of Asia. It received an ethnocentrism "score" of 6 out of a possible 8, which was one of the highest in the sample of books reviewed:

> "One of the objectives of the text is to show that people have different ways of thinking and behaving and that these ways represent richness and strength, not impoverishment and weakness."
> (Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, teacher's guide, p. 3)

Texts which truly convey the richness and strength of Asia are less common than those preoccupied with impoverishment and weakness. The following objective is from a teacher's guide which is more conscious of what it and many texts do:

> "The pupil comes to appreciate the basic American values, which make the United States distinct from other nations."
> (Communities Around the World, Sadlier, teacher's guide 1971, p. 8)

3. Minor Themes: Asians as Superior or Inscrutable; Asia-Centeredness; Eclecticism

The approaches discussed in this section are not dominant in the texts. However, no description of the books would be complete without some attention to these less influential, but existent, models of thought:

a. Asians as superior

b. Asians as inscrutable

c. The Asia-centered approach

d. Eclecticism

a. The Asians-as-Superior Approach

The Asians-as-Superior approach is rare: Only 10 readers reported scattered examples of this point of view, which takes several forms. One reader gave as an example a comparison between European and Chinese history which notes early Chinese technological superiority:

> Comparisons between Asian countries and Western countries were favorable to the Asian countries. "When Europeans were not far past the Stone Age, the Chinese were working in metal, developing writing, constructing impressive buildings, weaving silk, practicing advanced farming, and raising domesticated animals."
> (Alida Kratnoff on The World in Our Day, Oxford, 1973, p. 116)

Contemporary comparisons favorable to Asia are also made on occasion; for instance, Japan's literacy rate is extolled.

> "Japan's literacy rate is close to 100%, ranking among the highest in the world. It is distinctly higher than that of the United States."
> (The World in Our Day, Oxford, 1973, p. 137)

One reader pointed out that students might read the attitude that Asia is superior into some texts:

> Are Asian cultures presented as superior to the Western?
> Once again it depends on what the student is looking for. It is not the intention of the editors to present Asians as superior, but since students are to interpret for themselves...I've had students complete Volume I and conclude that Hinduism was the most profound set of ideas in the universe.
> (Wilson Kratz on Through Indian Eyes, Praeger, 1974)

The Asians-as-superior approach was quite rare, however, and most of the examples the readers did find were really attempts to seize student interest or token concessions to Asian culture.

The questionnaire defined "superior" in an open-ended way, asking for examples in which Asians were portrayed as more spiritual, artistic, exotic, or "other." More often than not, the citations they came up with fall under the heading of the exotic. In one anthropology text for younger children, for instance, the child's first introduction to any Asians is to a group of headhunters: "India, where the Nagas live, is in Asia. Asia is the largest of all the continents. About half of the world's people live in Asia...." (p. 80) The text goes on to make much of the fearsomeness of these people:

> "How would you like to have headhunters for neighbors? Would you expect them to be friendly to each other?" (p. 80) "For hundreds of years there have been stories about the Nagas of India. They were headhunters! They were feared by everyone....Finally, in 1936, an anthropologist decided to study the Nagas. To do so he lived in one of their villages for a whole year. By that time, the Indian government had made headhunting against the law. But the Nagas were still a dangerous people. They still sometimes hunted heads!" (p. 81)"...If you were to walk through the big carved doors of a morung, you would see a scary sight. Human skulls! Nagas believe that skulls bring respect and good luck. So in earlier times when they fought their enemies, they also hunted heads. They respected warriors who had cut off many heads. Now headhunting is not allowed. So today, Nagas collect monkey or pig skulls instead. They even carve heads from wood to remind them of the old days." (p. 86) (Inquiring About Cultures, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972)

In a textbook about the Philippines, the only description of one ethnic group is concerned solely with their colorful dress:

> "Moro tribesmen, sea-going gypsies whose pirate ancestors were converted to the Moslem faith centuries ago, make up a colorful segment of the population of Zamboanga. On land or sea, the Moros are a dazzling sight in their rainbow-colored sailboats and their gaudy clothes. Dressed in brilliant pantaloons, turbans, scarves, and fezzes, with long curved swords by their sides, the Moros look like characters come to life from the pages of the Arabian Nights." (Understanding the Philippines, Laidlaw, 1968, pp. 34-35)

Such examples really deserve a category of their own: the sensational approach. They are not much better than a third type of example readers offered as possible indications of an Asians-as-superior approach, in which an Asian people is referred to as "friendly, fun-loving." Such characterizations, however well-meaning, mask a subtle condescension and suggest a childlike nature in need of guidance, if not domination.

b. Asian Inscrutability Approach

Question 2b in the approaches and assumptions section asked if Asian cultures were presented as "inscrutable" or "mysterious." Only seven readers recorded examples of this approach in texts and it did not predominate in any book in our sample. Many of the examples offered by readers have much in common with the sensational approach in that they emphasize the unusual. The inscrutability approach is characterized by the addition of a layer of mystery or incomprehensibility.

One reader noted that presenting Asia as mysterious is sometimes used as a device to arouse student interest in Asia; she argues, however, that the ultimate goal should be to de-mystify Asia:

> "The early history of Asia may seem somewhat mysterious and strange to some of your students. Perhaps you can use this aura of strangeness and mystery to help create interest in the unit." (pp.67-68) While the assumption of the authors

> is that Asia is not mysterious, and while using student interest (even if it is misinformed) to lead the students into a real study of Asia might be a good tactic, the teacher's manual doesn't emphasize enough that the the goal should be to de-mystify Asia.
> (Zelda S. Bradburd on Building the Modern World, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972)

India is one country that is frequently presented as being difficult to understand:

> "India has long been thought to be a place of wonders--a land of exotic mystery, astounding magic, and abounding wealth" is the first sentence. (p. 1) "It is perplexing to the Westerner...." (p. 47) "All in all there has been and still is enough contrast in India to arouse both wonder and horror." (p. 2)
> (David Dell on India, Ginn, 1968)

In particular, Hinduism is described several times in terms that emphasize "strange" and "exotic" practices:

> "On the other hand, many Hindus became more concerned with the outward symbols of their religion than with its deeper meaning. They worshipped thousands of gods and offered bloody sacrifices to them. They became fatalistic about life, passively accepting the evils about them. Fanatical holy men achieved fame by half-starving themselves or by performing incredible feats like lying for years on a bed of nails. In such ways they hoped to free their souls from the burden of flesh and to become one with Brahma."
> (Past to Present, MacMillan, 1963, p. 51)

Another reader lamented the failure to explain certain aspects of Hinduism:

> Asian inscrutability approach? Yes, Hindu beliefs are unexplained, and the Hindus look foolish, if not inscrutable. See above IV 7. For example: "Caste divisions were thought

> to be set by divine law, and could not be changed." (p. 91) Unless the student learns something more about the origins of this belief he will assume that Hindus are unreasonably stubborn and ignorant. (Reader comment on You and the World, Benefic, 1968)

To the extent that students are not given some understanding of Asian social and cultural forces, they may be tempted to think of Asians as foolish because their practices seem simply inexplicable. As a result, while there may be some merit in attracting student interest through mystery, the rare examples of the inscrutability approach also have clear potential for Western ethnocentrism.

c. Asia-Centered Approach

The Asia-centered approach minimizes ethnocentrism and focuses on understanding Asia within its own cultural value systems and histories. In its archetypical form, it also makes an effort to get beyond the exotic or alien nature of some social customs and promote student empathy with Asians. Although it is eclipsed by progress-oriented and ethnocentric approaches in the text, traces of this model appear in 97 texts. It is dominant in 57 books and the exclusive approach in 18. The fact that it does appear is an encouraging precedent to point out to publishers and textbook authors.

Presenting Asia as Rational Within its Own Context and Cultural Value Systems

The most frequently noted aspect of Asia-centeredness was an effort to present Asia as rational within its own context and cultural value systems; readers reported 68 examples. Mark Willner, a teacher who uses Paul Welty's The Asians with ninth graders at Midwood High School in Brooklyn, New York, wrote:

> Welty's basic assumption is that Asians are people who, as with other human beings, hope for "...a future when they will have enough to eat, comfortable homes, education for their children, medical services and medicine for their sick, respect for themselves as individuals, freedom, peace and political stability and security." (p. 311) This assumption informs the approaches with which the book's contents are treated, and the manner in which these are to be digested by the reader....Modernization, change, and growth are seen as necessary and important only if Asians view them this way. And where this occurs, it is not in derogation of traditional values.
> (Mark Willner on The Asians, Lippincott, 1973)

The same reader demonstrates how it is possible to discuss marriage in contemporary China in the social context of the traditional arranged marriage system:

> "Whereas marriage was formerly a family affair, it is now often an ideological affair, especially if one or both persons are party members. One of the members of their party cell, or their discussion or work group, may act as a middleman in the marriage preliminaries. Instead of judging the marriage from the point of view of the family, the suitability of the match may be discussed in terms of the advantages that their union will bring to the party and the state."
> (The Asians, Lippincott, 1973, p. 195)

Another reader reported that an elementary text from the Taba Program in Social Science, People in States, provides a valuable anthropological perspective on Japan. She emphasized the importance of avoiding editorializing and cultivating a matter-of-fact tone in doing this:

> The Taba program emphasizes attaining concepts...and its authors have successfully introduced such concepts without making value-judgements. For example,

> they depict the life of one Burakumin. From the text we learn that a Burakumin doesn't look different from other Japanese but he hasn't the freedom of other Japanese in determining employment, marriage, or education despite the fact that a law was passed 100 years ago forbidding discrimination. The authors present the Burakumin's situation without bringing in a "message" or using a tone that suggests disapproval. This, of course, allows the student his genuine response. Another example is their presentation of women. They describe one mother whose days primarily consist of cleaning, cooking, visiting friends, and studying in order to be able to help with her children's homework. Another young woman is employed in a TV factory and we see her on an assembly line with 50 other women. Another woman in the country is the farmer of the family since her husband must work at another job to support the family. The author's presentation allows the student to criticize and/or admire the role of women in Japan.
>
> The authors avoid any criticism but they do allow the individuals we meet in the text to reflect on and often critize themselves or their situation, and the student is free to agree or disagree with that individual. For example, Mr. Tanaka is proud of Japan: "No other nation has a constitution forbidding it ever to go to war again." (p. 108)
> (Junnko Tozaki Haverlick on People in States, Addison Wesley, 1972)

A third reader mentioned the importance of including Asian authors in any effort to see Asian cultures as rational within their own value systems:

> I do like this section on the Japanese bath, which is written by a Japanese. The reasons for the bath sound very appropriate indeed and there is none of the sense of the foreigner looking in....
> (Andrea Miller on Japan, Scott Foresman, 1971)

One reviewer gave this example from a paperback on Thailand for junior high school students to show how a book caught the spirit of a Thai point of view:

> The author has taken pains to explain the feeding of the priests in Thai terms: "One of the most common forms of giving is feeding the Buddhist monks, who live on the generosity of the community. Each morning the monks go forth with their begging bowls. They call at houses and shops or stand in the streets waiting for contributions of rice, curry, or fruit. They do not ask for a contribution, and they receive one in silence. It is rather the giver who states his thanks for the opportunity to gain merit through performing a good deed."
> (Fern Ingersoll on Thailand, Ginn, 1971, p. 41)

Elgin Heinz's remarks on "begging bowls" also demonstrate how important it is to explain Asian viewpoints on generosity:

> Incidentally, on p. 91 of the Japan unit was one of my favorite animadversions, the "begging" bowl. In our culture, the word is pejorative--a beggar is contemptible. The Buddhist monk does not beg. He carries an alms bowl in which householders may place offerings, thereby acquiring merit. One of our major sources of misunderstanding with people of Buddhist countries is this differentiation. The U.S. has been the most generous nation in history--but as donors we expect to be thanked for our gifts. In a Buddhist culture, however, since the donor acquires merit by giving, he should, in a sense, thank the recipient for giving him the opportunity to improve his spiritual status!
> (Elgin Heinz on People In Change: East Asia, Addison Wesley, 1975)

Presenting Asia Within its Own Historical Context

The historical context presented in the text is also important. The reviewers of 24 books reported that an effort was made to place the history of an Asian country within an Asian context. This is the antithesis to the emphasis on American and European history found in some developmental approaches. While some texts do not deal with history at all, the comments from one reader illustrate the usefulness of an Asian historical perspective in those that do:

> One good example of the book's Asia-centeredness is the fact that it includes a discussion, p. 104 ff., of the traditional tribute system of foreign relations, and then discusses the Opium War and what followed under the rubric of "Europeans rejected the Manchu system of foreign relations," p. 107 ff. The tribute system is rarely discussed in secondary level materials, and the 19th-century conflict is discussed simplistically, either in terms of Chinese refusal to trade, or in terms of the morality of opium trading. The author of this book is sufficiently grounded in the facts of Chinese history to be able to tell this story reasonably objectively.
> (David Narot on China, Houghton Mifflin, 1972)

Promoting Student Empathy with Asians

Readers observed that careful use of language was the crucial element in promoting student empathy with Asians, a trait found in 34 textbooks in the sample. The following selection shows how the Japanese home can be treated positively instead of negatively as so many texts do in emphasizing its lack of furniture and the fact that in many families all of the members sleep in the same room:

> The teacher's guide instructs the teacher to "Tell the class that people all over the world admire traditional Japanese homes. The homes are designed so that each room can be used in many different ways....Ask the children: Would you like to spend a night in a Japanese home? Do you think you would enjoy living in a Japanese home?" This sort of approach also helps build empathy.
> (Roland Lange on Living in Places Near and Far, MacMillan, 1969, teacher's guide, p. 105)

The same reader also points out the value of style and tone in another elementary school text, Living in Japan. He is replying to question 4b "Does the text develop empathy for other cultures? If so how?"

> Yes. By showing children in everyday occupations, many of which are like their own, and by asking them to observe the correspondences. Also by wording such as "People also live and work outside

> of Tokyo. People have fun there too. What kinds of work might they do? How do you think the people have fun?" (p. 13) The book refers to "Japanese people." "Japanese boys and girls," and often simply to "people" or "girls and boys." Thus it identifies the objects of referral as "people," "girls," or "boys" rather than as "Japanese." The text is excellent in this respect.
> (Roland Lange on Living in Japan, American, 1971)

Getting Beyond the Exotic and Alien

Useful suggestions for getting beyond the exotic or alien nature of some Asian customs were found in 24 books. Here are some techniques and approaches which other publishers and teachers might use:

> The teacher's guide for a reading readiness unit in the Taba Program offers this suggestion for introducing a poster of driving cattle to the rice fields: "Any expressions of distaste should be allowed, but the teacher may respond with questions such as 'How do you suppose he feels?' 'Why do you say so?' 'Does anyone else have a suggestion?'"
> (Loretta Ryan on People in Families, Addison Wesley, 1972, teacher's guide, p. 37)

Another teacher's guide gives some directions on discussing "alien" behavior with students:

> "Ask the class to read the text and the caption and answer the question. Then ask:
> 'How do you feel about behavior like this?'
> 'We don't usually sit on the floor when we eat and drink. People drink tea in the United States, but we don't have any special ways of preparing it or drinking it.'
> 'How might you feel if you went to Japan and you were the only person not sitting on the floor to eat?'
> 'I might feel strange.'
> 'Why is this kind of behavior strange when you think about doing it in the United States, but not when you think about doing it in another country or in a Japanese restaurant?'
> 'People have learned to do different things because they live in different places. These things don't seem strange when everyone else does them.'"
> (Communities We Build, Follett, 1973, teacher's guide, p. 51)

Zelda Bradburd points out how end-of-chapter questions might deepen understanding and discourage ethnocentricity:

> "Here are statements by Mao Tse-tung.
> 1. 'Of all the things in the world...people are the most precious.'
> 2. 'Our duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people.'
> 3. 'Anyone should be allowed to speak out, so long as he means to be helpful.'
>
> Try to use these statements to describe what you think the Communist party in the People's Republic of China is trying to achieve." (p. 317)
>
> Another example, after chapter describing caste system:
> "What are some advantages to having a fixed place in society? What are some advantages of living in a society in which you can change your way of living?" (p. 171)
> (The Social Sciences, Concepts and Values, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975)

The wording of the text is cited several times as an example of providing an Asia-centered approach. The example below, cited by Frank and Phyllis Smarto, was offered as one way to demystify the "strange." A key feature to notice is the use of open questions rather than declarative statements to provoke thought.

> "Though we may find it hard to take mysticism and asceticism seriously, Indian transcendental ideas spread to China and Southeast Asia, and influenced Christianity as well. Such a career requires us to adjust our usual habits of thought and ask ourselves what we would do and how we might behave if it really were true that reality lay behind the world of sense. How do we know that it does not? How do you know that the Indian mystics were not on the right track after all, and that it is we moderns who are chasing after illusions? Many people in our time have asked themselves this question. Many people in every age of the past, from the time when such ideas first clearly came to be formulated, have been fascinated by these questions. It would be absurd to scoff and pay no attention, or refuse to take seriously ideas that sustained one of the world's greatest and most successful civilizations."
> (The Ecumene, Harper & Row, 1973, p. 132)

Roland Lange shows how this same positive approach may be executed in less erudite language for elementary school students:

> Festivals are "having fun in special ways." Temples, shrines, and the kabuki stage are "special places." These are concepts that all children understand in their own culture.
> (Living in Japan, American, 1971)

This avoids the all-too-common tendency of referring to "strange" customs or "slow-moving" kabuki.

Asian Contributions

One aspect of the Asia-centered approach which the questionnaire did not mention was the treatment of Asian contributions to world civilization. Four readers made a special point of this and gave these examples:

> "Thus our American heritage has been influenced by the cultural contributions of the Oriental, Indian, and Latin American citizens whose ancestors long ago developed cultures and civilizations in Asia and the Americas."
> (Human Adventure, Addison Wesley, 1972, p. 103)

> "Sometimes we are led to believe that the only important civilizations in the Middle Ages were those in Europe. But in Asia, too, there were highly developed societies that gave much to the modern world. Many of the goods that were in demand in Europe after the Crusades came from the Far East. So Europe and Asia became more closely linked as trade between them grew. As the result of this trade, the period of discovery and exploration began....Arabic numerals were invented and later brought to Europe by Arab traders. Hindus introduced the zero and the decimal system into mathematics. Craftsmen learned to make steel, soap and glass. The achievements of India under the Guptas were carried east to China, Burma and even to the island of Java."
> (Exploring World History, Globe, 1969, p. 165)

> "Instead of using the traditional approach that studies a unit on medieval Europe and then a separate unit on Asia, let us stand off and look at both areas in the same unit. The significance of our title then becomes clear....Our study of the East in this period will prove as valuable as our study of the West....We cannot neglect such questions involving important aspects of the cultural history of an Asian power because we do not associate it with the history of Western civilization. We must recognize that we have much to learn from the East as well as from the West."
> (World History, A Cultural Approach, Ginn, 1969, p. 159)

> "And it is not only the Chinese who are influenced by China's past. In the United States and all other nations in which there are books, a debt of gratitude is owed to China for the invention of printing. The people of the world also owe a debt to China for its other inventions and discoveries." (p. 120) and "Most of all, the United States owes a debt of gratitude to the thousands of Chinese who have come here to build a new way of life for themselves to help build America. Thus the culture of China, which is thousands of years old, has had its effect on the United States of America, which is only about two hundred years old." (p. 121)
> (Voices of Ancient Civilizations, Leswing, 1971)

Requirements for Success in the Classroom

It is possible for a book to combine all of the foregoing aspects of the Asia-centered approach and still not win reader approval. One scholar had reservations about a book which incorporated all dimensions of the Asia-centered model. He pointed out that the abstraction level of texts must be geared to students, that photographs must support an Asia-centered model, and that Western history must itself not be neglected in the effort to provide an Asian perspective.

> The approach here is presumably "4," Asia-centered. The attempt is to show China and Japan as societies which grew naturally from a given geographical and historical setting. The problem is that so little of the setting is given that we are dealing always with abstractions: Confucian thought and its permutations in Japan, Marxism-Leninism, Shinto, Buddhism. Big ideas are flowing in the background, but there are few ripples of enough substance to make us want to stop and dive deeper. The few photographs do nothing to enhance the text.
> a) If the exposition and layout were more rational, the cultures discussed might seem more rational in this or any other context.
> b) The text constantly asks the student for empathy, but gives very little to go on. Ideas in the abstract, a generalized "people" are not sources of empathy so much as boredom. There are no individuals in this book; [there are] a few names and dates, [but] no blood, sweat, tears....
> c) For what historical context there is, it is Asian; not even a cross-reference to Western history to help orient the student.
> d) Social customs are not discussed except in the abstract. There is nothing alien in the discussion of ideas; on the other hand it is a little patronizing (at best) to assume one can give an overview of what might best be called "national character," though that term is not used, of both China and Japan, in terms of a kind of intellectual-historical development, in eighty-odd pages.
> (S. E. Solberg on East Asia, Pendulum, 1975)

Nevertheless, there are Asia-centered texts which do succeed in the classroom, as this teacher who uses Twentieth Century Asia demonstrates. She indicates that the book combines developmental assumptions with an Asia-centered approach that does foster empathy:

> In addition to a basic developmental approach, as I've indicated before, the articles are Asia-centered and present rational views of the three cultures in their own context and value system. The Western comparison is a result of having read Asian views and reflected upon both cultural value systems. For example: the article "Marriage Before Love" (p. 173) usually precipitates an immediate reaction of "horror," but as students reflect on the Indian and Chinese reasons, many begin seeing valid points in their systems.

> I feel the readings present a realistic picture of the Asian world, where it is now, and where it might be going. Empathy among my students developed as they read articles in each section. They are people-centered, and in dealing with people, their lives, emotions, attitudes, expressions of beauty, guilt, resignation, hope...students can and do identify with them in an empathetic manner, and in turn, with the countries they represent. This anthology is a creative experience of realities and can shock some who are totally caught up in "their" Western world, the U.S.A., their own community where comfort and protectiveness are present. (Gwendolyn Johnson on *Twentieth Century Asia: An Anthology*, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1969)

The readers' reports show that there are other crucial dimensions to the approach besides those articulated in the questionnaire. Presenting Asian cultures as rational within their own historical contexts and value systems, developing student empathy, and getting beyond the exotic and alien. The reviewers have also stressed the importance of discussing Asian contributions, including readings by Asians; employing an anthropological perspective; avoiding editorializing; using a positive and matter-of-fact style and tone; incorporating relatively value-free and people-centered language; stimulating student thought by asking questions rather than making statements; using photographs to reinforce the text; and writing at an abstraction level which students will comprehend and appreciate.

The examples of the Asia-centered orientation given in this section indicate its effectiveness when used in texts; however, it is not the dominant approach in most cases, and there are only a few examples of it in the readers' reports. The impact of these samples becomes clear when contrasted with the ethnocentric excerpts from texts discussed earlier.

d. Eclectic Model

Books which try to introduce students to the plurality of different models of thought--whether Asian or not--are eclectic. This approach is rare in American social studies texts on Asia, appearing in only 14 out of 263 titles. It was dominant in six books and the exclusive approach in two.

When it offers a variety of different Asian perspectives a book may be Asia-centered as well as eclectic. The following selection from a teacher's report describes the core of this point of view:

> In Volume I, the culture seems quite rational. Given Hindu assumptions the whole system seems to make so much sense that many students are quite attracted to the model. But then in Volume II, especially during the section on "development," students begin to question the assumptions of Volume I. They see that there is a plurality of value systems at work in India and many of the values are difficult to reconcile to each other. How does one digest dharma, karma, and caste together with egalitarianism, social revolution, and technological progress?
> (Wilson Kratz on Through Indian Eyes, Praeger, 1974)

The eclectic approach need not be solely Asia-centered. Gwendolyn Johnson gave this example from a book which incorporated some Western as well as Asian perspectives in its readings:

> "Caution should be taken in generalizing about either Asia or about particular Asian countries. Asia is neither monolithic, uniform, nor consistent. It is a place where half of the world's population lives in countries which are often greatly separated by extreme religious, cultural, social, or economic differences. It is a serious error to believe that a single country is characterized by a specific manner of thinking or living.

> In fact, most of the Asian countries illustrate great differences within their own borders." (p. 125)
>
> This statement summarizes the approach used by the editors in choosing the articles they have. To prevent generalizations, three countries' views are given on each topic and within each country several articles are presented on the same or similar topics or situations so that the biased views of one author do not prevail. By using a variety of source material, documents, periodicals, personal accounts as well as secondary book sources (all represented in the anthology) the reader has a better chance of viewing an issue more objectively. Even if the sources are subjectively written, there are a number he can turn to which will help him come to his own conclusions, rather than mirroring one author who could be biased and ethnocentric.
> (Gwendolyn Johnson on Twentieth Century Asia: An Anthology, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1969)

Although anthologies lend themselves to the eclectic approach, it is possible to promote student consciousness of different points of view in more expository texts:

> "Traditionally, in the parts of Southeast Asia dominated by Hinduism and Buddhism, history was looked upon as being relatively unimportant. What was of real importance was the attainment of a goal which was beyond history--Nirvana.... In the West, we have seen history as created by God and as the place where the drama of salvation is acted out....This Biblical tradition was reinforced and reinterpreted under the influence of evolutionary thought in the nineteenth century. Not only was history important, it could, with man's help, become progressively better. This view of historical progress has been particularly important in America. Only in recent years have we begun to question it. For example, we are now raising serious questions about an economy based on an everlasting gross national product....This Western attitude toward historical progress has played one of the most important roles in the cultural revolution in Southeast Asia. It has caused some Asian leaders to look upon their own cultures as basically static and caught up in a cyclical view of time and history....The Marxist idea of dialectical change had a particular appeal to many of the Southeast Asian leaders influenced

> by the Western understanding of history. The influence of socialist political ideology has led to a view which Southeast Asian leaders like U Nu in Burma have called a 'Buddhist Socialism.' The viewpoint of U Nu and other Asian leaders like him has real merit. We in America may not espouse a Buddhist Socialism but the idea that the organization of a society should offer man the possibility of seeking a higher spiritual end is appealing. We in the West have been critized for our materialism. It may be that we are no more materialistic than the people of Asia; however, we have developed such a highly successful technological society that we may have endangered our own well-being. If we have created a society in which man no longer sees beauty in a flower or ceases to be inspired by a beautiful sunset or fails to feel sympathy with his brother, than all of our scientific and technological successes have ended in failure. We have come to a time when the traditional Asian attitude toward history should be taken more seriously by us. It may serve to question our confidence in the progressive development of a society which may already be overdeveloped."
> (Southeast Asia, Pendulum, 1973, pp. 96-98)

"Values clarification" is seen by many educators as an eclectic approach. However, one reader questioned its use in cross-cultural studies. He claimed that it really calls upon students to focus on their own values rather than those of other cultures:

> A large proportion of the suggested teaching strategies have to do with getting students to analyze their own feelings and reactions to bear on the text readings through a structure of techniques known as values clarification.
>
> Values clarification has been a popular "innovative" technique in the social studies because it allows the teacher to introduce questions of value into the classroom without (supposedly) inculcating certain specific values. Thus, in values clarification, the student will go beyond his blind prejudices by articulating clearly his value preferences and come to know more clearly what he believes and why he believes it.
>
> Intercultural studies, however, pose a particular problem for the use of values clarification strategies which may be described as the

> problem of whose values are being clarified.
>
> For example, if a student is asked to clarify his/her attitudes toward the question of violence (e.g., was peasant violence during the Chinese Revolution justified), the student will naturally appeal to the value base of his own culture in clarifying this question.
>
> The point here is not that confronting such a question may not be a useful thing to do (which it is), but whether confronting it tells you anything significant about Chinese values (which it doesn't).
>
> Values clarification strategies are useful to the extent that they are used as a starting point for further inquiry into the rationality of other people's values in a different cultural and historical context. That is, they are useful to the extent that the proper goal--understanding other cultural values--is kept in mind.
>
> The danger in the use of such strategies, however, is that they will be used in just the reverse fashion: that clarification of one's own values becomes the primary goal and Asia is "used" simply as a means to focus on oneself.
>
> (David Narot on Through Chinese Eyes, Praeger, 1974)

Mr. Narot's analysis concludes that to be useful, an eclectic approach has to be well balanced. One cannot take a token interest in or "use" Asia in order to examine only one's own values. Full consideration of Asian perspectives is also important; values clarification and intercultural studies must go beyond contemplation of oneself. But, if this step is taken, students will be the richer for exploring the identities of others as well as themselves.

A question that remains is: How much uncertainty can students face and at what age level can they deal with pluralism? A scholar wrote of one eclectic method, used in the analysis of caste in Through Indian Eyes, that since "it is written for more advanced, sophisticated audiences, it could not be used successfully in elementary schools and is too confusing and unsure of itself for most high schools." (McKim Marriott)

However, a teacher who uses the book said, "I use these books because the students really get into them." (Wilson Kratz, Plymouth Whitemarsh High School) His students wrote:

> I see India in a completely different way than before I started. I also see that religion, social and political thought influence you every day and that what you believe will determine the goals you set in life. (Randy Levy)
>
> I think it made me realize how totally different you can look at life. (Sue Irwin)
>
> Sometimes when I thought about something I noticed that I was also thinking about how the Indians would think about it and comparing the two opinions. (Lois Wildgrube)
>
> I think there were some really great questions raised in class from the readings. These helped to make the discussion more worth doing and talking about. Some questions were about caste and untouchability. (Geralyn Gambone)

Perhaps eclecticism and raising questions are not for every teacher, every book, or every student. However, the foregoing testimony from some high school students indicates that the approach is valuable for some.

C. CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS

Although stereotypes of the "inscrutable" or "exotic" Asian are no longer dominant features in American textbooks, other attitudes now prevalent in them carry a great propensity for distortion of Asian reality. The progress orientation, found in 71 per cent of our sample, tends to ignore Asian cultural continuities and regard tradition not as a usable past but as an encumbrance to the good life. Textbook writers adopting the progress orientation also have a tendency to slip over into Western ethnocentrism, assuming that technological, political, economic, or social progress in Asia will follow the same sequence that it has in the West and that American and European assistance can cause this development to take place. Some 76 per cent of textbooks exhibited this or some other form of ethnocentrism.

It could be argued that some Asians would also share a belief in Western superiority in these spheres. Nevertheless it is one thing for an Asian to hold this belief; it is quite another for it to be the only point of view presented to American school students by textbook authors. It could also be argued that many Asians share a belief in the vital importance of change in Asia. But it is one thing for those raised in an Asian culture to hold this belief; it is another to disseminate it among American students without a corresponding effort to show the values inherent in Asian traditions.

Although not all aspects of these viewpoints show up in every book, there is a good likelihood of students absorbing a wide measure of bias about Asia during their school career. Students who read school books and stay in school usually receive 8 to 12 different texts.

The assumption of Western superiority, whether conscious or unconscious, also raises a number of questions about the value of the American self-portrait, dominated as it is by a preoccupation with our relative technological advancement. In the light of the present concern over the exhaustion of our sources of energy and the increasing pollution of our environment, is it wise to encourage students to measure worth in material terms or to place such great faith in machines? Is it a good idea to continue to glorify the use of electricity and automobiles?

Another group of serious questions surrounds the problem of how to interpret the place of tradition in modern life. Must there be a dichotomy between tradition and modernity? Is it justifiable to always applaud the present at the expense of the past?

These questions are as pertinent to scholars, journalists, and the general public as to textbook publishers, teachers, and students. The small but significant presence of Asia-centered and eclectic perspectives in textbooks is a good precedent on which to build.

V. HUMANISTIC AND HUMAN INTEREST MATERIALS (Based on 260 texts)

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Definition of Humanistic and Human Interest Materials

Humanistic materials are primary expressions of the Asian experience: literature (poetry, fiction, diaries, letters, and biographies), art, music, dance, drama, philosophy, and religion. They are the thing itself--the actual poem, painting, song or scripture. Talking about, and photographs of, art objects, drama, dance, and other expressions of a culture are also included in the humanistic category, but these are not regarded as substitutes for the thing itself.

Human interest materials must be people-centered, but need not be drawn from the humanities. They include journalistic pieces, letters to the editor, interviews, historical and political documents, case studies, essays and articles, and photographs of people.

2. Rating System

Readers were asked to rate the extent to which a text took a humanistic/human interest approach, as well as to indicate whether the text included Asian sources instead of the comments of an outside observer. Two categories were set up to give an overall rating for each text: "humanistic/human interest approach" and "humanistic/human interest content." Readers were to rate texts "none," "some," and "dominant." For "approach," the concern was to what extent an author's writing style was people-oriented; to what extent an author wrote meaningfully or empathetically about a society's cultural traditions; to what extent the author's approach would lend itself to the inclusion of humanistic or human interest content or move the student to learn about the culture.

In analyzing the reports, it became apparent that it would be necessary to creat a "minimal" category in order to accurately reflect the readers' response. In many instances, the rating "some" was given to indicate a substantial amount of humanistic/human interest materials, while other readers hesitated to give any rating at all, choosing instead to describe the paucity of the humanistic dimension.

3. Quantitative Results

The following chart shows how the books were rated overall. This is based on a sample of 260 texts:

	APPROACH		CONTENT	
Dominant	40	43	19	23
Dominant-Some	3		4	
Some	40	56	58	70
Some-Minimal	16		12	
Minimal	50	82	69	107
Minimal-None	32		38	
None	79	79	60	60

Note: The table above reveals several interesting points concerning the use of humanistic and human interest materials. The first is simply that a very sizable proportion of the texts contain absolutely no humanistic/human interest materials at all. Secondly, the fact that the largest category here is "minimal/minimal-none" indicates that many textbook authors use the arts and humanities only in a token manner, as embellishment or "atmosphere" that is utilized only incidentally. Fuller statistical information on humanistic/human interest materials is on file at The Asia Society.

4. People-Centered vs Non-People-Centered

The extent to which a text is people-centered and inclusive of the Asian experience is indicative of how it rates on humanistic/human interest approach and content. Readers report that successfully people-centered texts:

a. Enable students to look at another culture through the eyes of its people, in order to promote empathy with and appreciation of Asian cultural heritage and values.

This in turn can help to:

b. Add validity to a social science study of Asia.

The following examples will show how this pattern emerged through the readers' responses.

Looking Empathetically at Another Culture

> Here the thoughts of a Hindu in America (Krishnalal Shridharani) and the Abbé Dubois are given on various subjects from music to food. We experience the disgust of Shridharani the first time he saw meat in a cafeteria; the differences in eating and belching manners are pointed out. The Abbé didn't like Indian music, but then neither did Shridharani care for Western music. To him our singing sounded like a screaming contest. By pointing this out students are helped to look at their own culture through different eyes, as well as having new chances for empathy with India. (Andrea Miller on Man and Change, Silver Burdett, 1972, pp.406-410)

The whole book, in my opinion, uses humanistic materials to increase student appreciation of Asia's cultural heritage--Confucianism and Taoism are defined and explained for what they are, and then good material shows the two philosophies "in action" in Chinese culture.

I believe that Confucianism and Taoism could well become a model on the use of humanistic materials so that students can empathize with other peoples and get direct contact with their values. The success of Confucianism and Taoism on this point, it seems to me, is based on the following factors: 1) the author made a decision to present original Asian materials rather than merely (or primarily) to discuss his subject; 2) he made excellent choices of material to use, and he chose from a variety of kinds of material--philosophical, fictional, poetic, even scholarly; 3) he let the act of juxtaposition of materials be the main force for carrying his book forward: a necessary part of doing it like this, of course, is clever and effective juxtaposition and effective and clever arrangement of materials over several selections.
(William McNaughton on Confucianism and Taoism, Addison Wesley, 1969)

The materials in the text handsomely achieve the following aims: 1) to increase appreciation of Asia's cultural heritage 2) to illustrate cultural values 3) to create empathy. The things that people do, the thoughts that people have, are at the heart of the book.
(Mark Willner on The Asians, Lippincott, 1973)

Unlike most books about "other peoples," Through Japanese Eyes does not try to explain Japan but to show it; it does not offer "expert" analysis by outside observers but, rather, attempts to recreate the reality of everyday life as experienced by the Japanese people. Interpretation is left to the reader. In effect, Through Japanese Eyes has two objectives: to let the Japanese speak for themselves, and to let readers think for themselves. And it works, it really works.
(Harold Wright on Through Japanese Eyes, Praeger, 1974)

A particularly fine feature of China, which certainly extends its humanistic approach, is the frequent and effective use of what is (in my opinion) one of the most neglected and important of literary forms--the proverb. There may be thirty proverbs cited through

China, always pertinent, always shedding new light on the subject under discussion or bringing some difficult conglomeration of facts and events into a comprehensible pattern.
(William McNaughton on China, Houghton Mifflin, 1972)

Pictures of children are common. Cover photo, close-up candid portrait of girl at school, sets tone for whole book. The view of Japan is predominantly a Japanese view (and an accurate one) for the simple reason that most of the photographers were Japanese.
(Roland Lange on Living in Japan, American, 1971)

The book treats China as rational within its own value system and culture, helps promote empathy by providing direct access to 23 source readings from contemporary Chinese sources, introduces each document with pertinent historical background, and calls attention, when necessary, to those aspects of the material that might seem strange or exotic to an American reader.
...This is a superb book--coherent in organization, humanistic in content, empathetic in outlook. It is the only book of its kind for high school students that allows any kind of access to the moral vision of Maoism, and the only book that treats this moral vision as rational and relevant to the lives of the people. It is the only book that allows us to see how the Chinese feel about things, without getting us all tangled up in making evaluative judgments about what is good and what is bad in the Chinese Revolution, or justifying itself by teaching students "how to think like historians" or how to manipulate social science concepts.
(David Narot on We the Chinese, Praeger, 1971)

Adding Validity to Social Science Treatments

...the editors chose material that gives any reader a true or truer sense of this [humanistic] side of Asian life, an area so often neglected. However, the usual political, historical, and economic view has not been overlooked as articles on hardship, poverty, underdevelopment...are included, as are the positive progress and modernization trends that are happening. Through diaries and dialogues of individual Asian lives, a realistic approach to daily living is given.
(Gwendolyn Johnson on Twentieth-Century Asia: An Anthology, Webster McGraw-Hill, 1969)

While this text aims at teaching a discipline, it is taught through examining how people live, and, as such, is people-oriented. Also, only one description of an Asian social structure/custom is from a non-Asian source, that being the selection on Tibet.

> All the other material about Asia is written by Asians.
> (Robert Swacker on Social Structure, Rand McNally, 1971)

> All of these materials [excerpts from artistic, philosophical, and literary sources] serve nicely to humanize historical events or aspects of the life and society which have been discussed....People are at the center....The humanistic material in Confucian China is used both to establish the existence of artistic activity in China and to elucidate and make real the other subjects, such as historical events and social structure, being discussed.
> (William McNaughton on Confucian China, American, 1971)

> Humanistic materials--art, literature, etc.--are not incorporated into the Osaka unit but there is plenty of human interest material. We learn that at the T.V. factory, the employees sing a company song at the start of each work day. We learn that many students, even in grade school, attend special after-school classes to prepare for college entrance examinations. Religion, music, and calligraphy play some small part in the lives of some of the people we meet.
> (Junnko Tozaki Haverlick on People in States, Addison Wesley, 1972)

> Although this text is addressed to questions of foreign policy and the conduct of war, all of its materials are attributed to real individuals. In addition to revealing the personalities and philosophies of the military and civilian leaders of the age, there is moving and evocative material on the lesser participants in the Korean War in a small section titled, "The Burden," pp. 64-69.
> (Marshall R. Pihl on Korea and the Limits of War, Addison Wesley, 1970)

The examples given so far show how a text can be successfully people-centered and can add validity to a social science treatment.

However, analysis of readers' reports reveals that in a significant number of texts humanistic/human interest materials are not utilized for either of these purposes. Even in otherwise commendable texts, this is sometimes a shortcoming. Instead of being seen as individuals, people are subordinated to a plethora of names, dates, and facts. Readers report that in texts of this genre:

a. The human element is objectified and depersonalized by omitting the individual and presenting:

   1) "Important" people (heads of state, kings, philosophers, despots)

   2) "Typical" people (farmers, villagers, city-dwellers, men, women, children)

This in turn can lead to:

b. An imbalance, through focus on the social sciences and preoccupation with related skills, techniques, concepts, methodologies, and generalities (problems, events, forces, movements), with little or no inclusion of the humanities.

The following examples will show how this pattern emerged in the readers' responses:

Objectifying and Depersonalizing the Human Element

> In terms of authenticity, the text flunks totally. There are no Asian voices. There are hardly any Asians, except kings and despots and an occasional philosopher (Gautama and Confucius). Everything is abstracted. There are no villages with real people; there are just "farmers" who pull "ox-drawn plows" (p. 182). "Women were subordinate to men and had no property rights of their own" (p. 181) but we meet no real women.
> (David Narot on Men and Nations, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971)

> The author does not describe "typical days in the life of...." He deals in generalities for rulers, resources, wars, etc. The only human beings we see are Nehru, Chou, etc.
> (Reader comment on The Afro-Asian World, Allyn & Bacon, 1972)

> There are also biographical passages on figures like Gandhi and Nehru, but the emphasis in general is on such figures as political entities, not as people. People are in fact not prominent in the book.
> (Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972)

> The emphasis, when on people, is on important people. i.e. special pictures of King Chulalongkorn (p. 22) and King Bhumibol (p. 27) with a write-up about each. These write-ups are factual, with little attempt to personalize them.
> (Fern Ingersoll on Thailand, Ginn, 1971)

This book is a chronological recitation of the major dates, dynasties, leaders, and events in East Asian history--namely of China and Japan. No individual persons emerge who can give a human dimension to this dizzying and confusing collection of facts. There are innumerable and forgettable names of people and places that the student might memorize without gaining any feeling for the culture which embraces them....When people of ordinary dimensions are introduced (that is, not the heroic greats), it is done so as a fictional and sometimes condescending gimmick to state an objective fact in an amusing style.
(Marshall R. Pihl on East Asia, Silver Burdett, 1970)

Geographic not humanistic approach. People are mentioned in groups, not as individuals (farmers, not Joe Smith); culture is presented in terms of food, clothing, shelter, products--not ideas, literature, etc.
(Patricia Genz on A Journey Through Many Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1969)

Imbalance Through Exclusive Focus on the Social Sciences

Because of the nature of the lesson, it does not provide humanistic material. The authors are concerned with the skills and techniques of historical writing and investigation.
(James Sanzare on Looking Into History, Rand McNally, 1971)

Everything is geo-political and macro-economic. There is no attempt to portray with fidelity how people live. Descriptions of art, literature, and religious ideas are conveyed in compressed, lifeless, third-person prose.
(David Narot on Men and Nations, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971)

One looks in vain for humanistic materials in this text. The only things that might fall into this category are utilized so incidentally that they are the merest decoration. They are: an unidentified Moghul painting, two or three unidentified rock carvings, one statue of a Buddha, and an unidentified Chinese painting. That is all--in a text of over 300 pages. Human beings appear in the photographs only to illustrate geographic, economic, or developmental points: One never has any sense of them as being even vaguely real. (emphasis added)
(Robin Lewis on India and Southeast Asia, Fideler, 1972)

There is a very small amount of "humanistic" material--at least, mention of writers and artists. But the book is one of a series that self-consciously draws upon the social sciences. Religion receives a fair amount of attention, but it is misleading: The authors are obviously not familiar with the basic concepts. There are some good reproductions of paintings and sculpture, but the captions are not useful, e.g. "Why was Akbar a wise ruler?" on a miniature of Akbar and Shah Jahan that might have been used to draw the students' attention to the beauty of Mughal painting. I do not think the material would deepen the students' appreciation of Indian culture.
(Ainslie Embree on *The People of South Asia*, Sadlier, 1973)

The humanistic materials are not used to increase understanding of social science concepts. No examples of Afghan literature occur, whereas use of proverbs at least would have provided excellent views of Afghan notions about tribal groups, war, peace, foreigners, love, family, etc.
(Eden Naby on *The Story of Afghanistan*, McCormick-Mathers, 1965)

Broadly speaking, this text does *not* take a humanistic approach to Asia. It is primarily concerned with political-economic-military matters and only rarely is concerned with what might be called cultural or social history.
(Edward Vernoff on *Mainstreams of World History*, Oxford, 1974)

I would not characterize the text as taking a humanistic approach. People are not at the center; rather, the focus is on events. Forces, influences, movements, and the abstract ebb and flow of "civilization" as the "spotlight of history jumps around the world."... Empires rise and fall, governments come and go, "civilization" ebbs and flows, names are dropped, but people are rarely fleshed out.
(David Narot on *Men and Nations*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971)

B. PROBLEMS IN THE PRESENTATION OF HUMANISTIC/HUMAN INTEREST MATERIALS

As already indicated in the "people-centered" and "non-people-centered" examples, very few texts utilize humanistic/human interest materials to add concreteness and vividness to more abstract social science treatments or to promote empathy with, appreciation of, or insight into another culture. Readers' responses dealt more with problems than with constructive uses of humanistic materials. This section will address itself to the most common difficulties that readers noted. There are certain characteristics that run through all of the "problem" categories: subordination, distortion, or denigration of Asian cultures growing out of progress-centered and sometimes ethnocentric assumptions; inadequate attempts to provide a people-centered dimension; use of inaccurate or inauthentic humanistic/human interest materials; and what seems to be an ignorance of the wide range of such materials appropriate and available for inclusion in textbooks.

1. Aspects of Asian Cultures Seen as Negative Forces or Presented Negatively

Readers report that the majority of texts include an element of humanistic/human interest approach or content, even if this is at the "none-minimal" level. However, readers also had reservations about the presentation of such material because aspects of Asian cultures are often presented negatively, or seen as negative forces. In negative presentations the Asian experience is seen as a hindrance to social progress, presented as "strange," or shown in a Western context.

In the first category, elements of Asian culture are seen as a drawback and a hindrance because they keep nations from entering the world of "social change and progress":

> There is recognition of the role of religion in society, but it is clumsily handled....It is suggested that religion is an inhibitor of social change and progress. ...The use of humanistic material, such as paintings or illustrations, is not very successful. Quotations from original sources are not used.
> (Ainslie Embree on The People of South Asia, Sadlier, 1973)

> There is no humanistic approach; this is a chronology of events. Page 424 mentions that the Chinese studied history, art, and literature, "but they did not study the sciences." Humanities are put into a context as being one factor in China's defeats.
> (Michael Antolik on Nationalism and Imperialism, Follett, 1966)

Authors sometimes seem to think that expressions of the Asian experience must be put into a negative or superficial light--as if a country cannot make "progress" and enjoy the elements of a rich cultural tradition at the same time:

> The author devotes space to religion, architecture, arts, dance, drama, literature, clothing and food in what he calls a "long look at the cultural aspects of India's past." The author suggests that pride in Indian cultural achievements is preventing India from changing rapidly enough to keep its people from starving. Needless to say, his discussion of humanistic elements is superficial and condescending in tone: "Fables in India were told to teach common sense and worldly wisdom to the dull sons of princes and kings." (emphasis added)
> (David Dell on India, Ginn, 1968, p. 108)

> Humanistic materials are really not used in this text. They are referred to occasionally, as for example: "...they are proud of their long and wonderful history" (p. 118). From what they have told us of it, it doesn't seem too wonderful to me. In fact it seems that the book is saying that all the traditions that are a part of India's "old-fashioned way of life" will disappear once she makes the "transition to an up-to-date way of life" (p. 117).
> (Nancy Lanoue on The Indian Subcontinent, Allyn & Bacon, 1971)

In the second category of negative presentation, an aspect of Asian culture is presented as being "strange" in one way or another. Now many students would probably never experience Indian music or Japanese theater, for instance, as strange unless prompted to do so. While some might find these art forms unfamiliar (a preferable word), there is no reason that this has to be the lasting impression. But when the first and only impression of an Asian culture is one of "strangeness," there seems to be very little reason to expect that students will want to explore it further.

The following quotation from The Human Achievement (Silver Burdett, 1970) is a typical example:

> "Hindu music is confined largely to popular songs and to accompaniments for the famous temple dances. Drums, cymbals, wooden flutes, and many stringed instruments have been used for centuries. Because it lacks harmony and relies solely on melodies that are so different from our own, Hindu music, like that of most East Asian countries, seems strange to Western ears." (p. 553)

And that's all there is to say about "Hindu music," only three sentences. The first two are vaguely descriptive, and the third incorporates three negatives: "lacks," "different," and "strange."

The next three quotations are examples of a provincial attitude toward Japanese poetry and music:

> "Japanese poems do not rhyme. They are carefully written to tell about something in a way that makes the reader see the scene." (p. 47) (The first sentence is inaccurate. Japanese can have a rhyme scheme. However, this seems to be an attempt to show how much Japanese poetry is not like "our" poetry, even though Western poetry doesn't always rhyme. The second sentence doesn't say anything that is unique to Japanese poetry.) (Andrea Miller on How People Live in Japan, Benefic, 1972)
>
> And from the same text: "The music of Japan sounds strange and sad to Europeans and Americans." (p. 48)
>
> "They [Japanese plays] move too slowly for Westerners." (Exploring World Cultures, Ginn, 1974, p. 376)

Indian music was mentioned more frequently than any other culture's music as receiving negative treatment. The word "strange" abounds, and students are given the firm impression that Indian music is incomprehensible.

On the streets of a typical, unnamed Indian city, "a snake charmer plays strange-sounding music on his flute" (p. 59). To whom does it sound strange? Why is the reader being prompted to assume that it sounds strange?

Another mention of Indian music begins: "When you attend a wedding or a festival in India, you may have an opportunity to hear some Indian musicians. Their music may sound strange to you at first. It has no harmony, but the melodies and rhythms are very interesting. One musician may play a drum." (p. 74) Oh well, no harmony, but it's "interesting" nevertheless. Couldn't they have found a slightly less blatant euphemism? And why do they refuse to give the reader elementary terms like tabla and sitar? Finally, a sitar neither looks like or sounds like a guitar.
(Robin Lewis on India and Southeast Asia, Fideler, 1972)

The only reference to music is on the visit to the village: "The children sing a song about India. We cannot understand it. The words are Hindi, and it is sung to Indian music. Indian music sounds very different from our music."
(Nancy Lanoue on The Indian Subcontinent, Allyn & Bacon, 1971, p. 84)

"After dinner there is much talking and visiting. Then a cousin begins to sing. Indian people love music. They have their own style of music which would sound strange to our ears. Chandra has made up a dance. The dance tells the story of Ram's going away to study and then coming home. While Chandra dances, mother makes music for her on the sitar, an instrument like a guitar."
(Exploring World Cultures, Ginn, 1974, p. 262)

This problem is not unique to Japan and India:

Artistic appreciation is omitted. In fact, when describing the music, the author provides a needlessly derogatory value judgment discouraging further curiosity about Afghan music: "Derek and Mary had never heard this kind of singing before. It seemed to them to be a monotonous groan with a kind of growl quality."
(Eden Naby on The Story of Afghanistan, McCormick-Mathers, 1965, p. 39)

In the third category of negative presentation, authors discuss elements of an Asian culture, especially the arts, in terms of how "like" or "unlike" they are to something the students are familiar with. If sensitively done, this might have potential for a positive initial introduction to a new art form; but the examples cited by readers go no further than Western-oriented comparisons, which are generally misleading and condescending in tone:

> "People also enjoyed the stories in the Panchatantra, a series of tales woven into a single narrative. Among its stories were those about Sinbad the Sailor, Jack the Giant Killer, the Magic Mirror, and the Seven League Boots--stories that are known all over the world. Next to the Bible, the Panchatantra is the most widely translated book in the world today.
>
> "Indian drama developed greatly under the Guptas. Unlike Greek plays, those of India always had happy endings....
>
> "Kalidasa, who lived in the 400's A.D., has been called the Indian Shakespeare. He wrote three plays, the most famous of which is Sakuntala. The story, a romantic one, concerns...."
> (Men and Nations, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971, p. 171)

> So far the book has generally avoided blatant examples of this kind, but: "Today Kalidasa is favorably compared with William Shakespeare."
> (Loretta Ryan on India, Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 19)

> "So important was the role of music that Chinese plays might be compared with Western opera."
> (A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 450)

> As with Christian churches during the Renaissance, wealthy Buddhist monasteries employed numerous painters and sculptors. The Ajanta frescoes "in style...somewhat resemble the work of early Italian Renaissance artists."
> (William Skowronski on Record of Mankind, D.C. Heath, 1970, p. 223)

> "In his statesmanship, military success and intellectual curiosity, Akbar was comparable to contemporary monarchs such as Elizabeth I of England and Philip II of Spain."
> (A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 475)

> "Asoka's services to Buddhism compared to Constantine's to Christianity."
> (A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1974, p. 472)

> Comparison of a Han poem (200 B.C.) to The Raven: "Some of the ideas expressed by the Han poets were similar to our own."
> (A World History: A Cultural Approach, Ginn, 1969, p. 147)

> There are no real voices that speak of real, human experiences; there is no vehicle to break through the wall of indigestible, objective fact which the author has created between the reader and the reality. He tells us where Confucius was born, some of the things he said, and likens him to Solomon and Benjamin Franklin; but there are no quotes or stories from him, his disciples, or opponents that might tell us what his life was like, what challenges he faced, or what others thought of him.
> (Marshall R. Pihl on East Asia, Silver Burdett, 1970)

2. The Humanities Treated as an Appendage to the Social Sciences

Why are Asian cultures presented negatively or in non-Western terms? Readers' responses suggest that one major reason may be the assumption, spoken or unspoken, that religion, literature, music, the fine arts, and other elements of human expression do not reveal what is important about a people.

> The text does not take a humanistic approach. In fact, sentences like the following would tend to reinforce student suspicion of the humanities: "When we hear the word 'culture,' we often think of something highbrow like painting or music." Empathy with people is not important in this text.
> (Loretta Ryan on Geography and World Affairs, Rand McNally, 1971, p. 21)

> It's interesting that this book is fully aware of the fact that they have neglected to include humanistic materials. They even mention this in the text. As you might expect, the omission is explained in terms of humanistic materials being available if the student is interested, but not nearly as crucial as learning about India's transition from a developing country to a developed one: "Many things about India have not been put in this book. We have not studied

India's quarrels with Pakistan and Communist China. We know enough, however, to find out about these things. We can keep on studying about India...." (Nancy Lanoue on The Indian Subcontinent, Allyn & Bacon, 1971, p. 118)

...I still have the feeling that cultural subjects have been dragged in by the ears without much imagination, and certainly not any better illustrations. (David Weitzman on The Story of China, McCormick-Mathers, 1968)

...the extent and quality of humanistic materials in this text are pitiful. The cavalier and careless treatment of those topics that are covered indicates that this is a very low priority for the author. (Robin Lewis on India, Oxford, 1971)

3. Lost Intentions: Teacher's Guides That Advocate Humanistic Aims but Fail to Carry Them Out

Some teacher's guides appear to advocate humanistic/human interest approach and content. However, two problems emerge:

a) Failure to carry out stated humanistic aims of teacher's guide in body of the text.

b) Failure of teacher's guides to back up suggested culture-centered projects (like teaching haiku or tea ceremony) with lists of appropriate resources to make projects feasible to carry out.

Failure to Carry Out Stated Aims of Teacher's Guide:

The text states that it is taking a humanistic approach. The teacher's guide speaks about "humanistic" geography, "one which focuses on the relationship between man and his cultures, as well as what he does with a given environment" (p. 3). People are generally at the center of the text's approach but text does not include Asian humanistic sources or voices. Instead the text attempts to give an expository account of the lives of the Chinese people and their culture.
(Michael Fonte on China, Scholastic, 1973)

It's interesting that on p. 55 of the teacher's guide it says: "The ability of poets and other litterateurs to verbalize feelings and emotions should

be discussed and emphasized here. Students should become aware that, while factual data presents us with the only reliable estimates of concrete aspects of a region, something more is needed to express the attitudes that give character to that region. This is precisely the function Sandburg performs for the U.S. plains. Both his poetry and prose express the culture and attitudes of American plains people." However, except for this mention and a short quote by the Chinese poet, Tao Ch'ien, which appears in the body of the text, Asian humanities are not represented. There is almost nothing in the text to justify this statement in the teacher's guide.
(Andrea Miller on Man and the Regions of the World, Benefic, 1974)

Failure to Suggest Information and Resources on Culture-Centered Projects

The teacher's guide says on p. 64: "The Japanese have as part of their culture a type of poetry that follows very strict rules. The poems are called haiku. The rules for this kind of poetry are: It must be three lines long. The first line has five syllables; the second line must have seven; the third line must contain five." On p. 134 it says: "Learn how to conduct a Japanese tea ceremony for the other children. The children should also discuss why manners are so very important when there is a great number of people living in a very small space." Even if a teacher should be moved to want to do more with haiku and the tea ceremony, where would they turn for assistance? No advice or suggestions are to be found in the text. Also, emphasizing the "strictness" of rules for haiku and using the tea ceremony in conjunction with the "Japan is crowded" image gives a distorted image of what is important in these art forms to the Japanese experience.
(Andrea Miller on Man and His Families, Benefic, 1971)

Page 88 of the teacher's guide suggests that 'A Japanese tea ceremony could be planned and the learners' mothers invited for tea." How are the teachers going to know how to plan a Japanese tea ceremony? The whole thinking behind inviting the mothers to tea is not only sexist but shows a total lack of understanding of what the tea ceremony is all about--makes it seem like a ladies' luncheon. No attempt is made to encourage empathy, through humanistic or other materials.
(Tin-Mala on Diversity of Ideas, Harper & Row, 1972)

> There is an awareness of the desirability of using humanistic materials--poems from Langston Hughes introduce each section. They also include a poem at the end of the Japanese section and the teacher's guide suggests that the teacher read some _haiku_ to the students and have them write some. They do not, unfortunately, give the teacher any references on where to find _haiku_ or how to write them. Very lazy of the textbook editors.
> (Loretta Ryan on _The Communities We Build_, Follett, 1973)

4. The "Pearl Buck-Rudyard Kipling Syndrome": Western Sources Used to Describe Asian Experiences

Presentation of humanistic/human interest materials is often characterized by what has been identified as the "Pearl Buck-Rudyard Kipling Syndrome." This is the use of Western, rather than Asian sources to talk about an Asian experience. The "Pearl Buck-Rudyard Kipling Syndrome" is not peculiar to social studies texts. In 1969, the Asian Literature Program of The Asia Society undertook a survey of Asian literature in world literature anthologies for high school students.* The results indicated that Pearl Buck and Rudyard Kipling were included in the Indian and Chinese literature sections of some textbooks. Variations on this theme include the following:

a) Presenting a work by a Westerner as if it were an Asian source, or represented an Asian point of view, or characterized Asian attitudes.

b) Using Western authors as the sole literary reference.

c) Paucity of suggested readings by Asian authors in bibliographies.

d) Secondary Western sources diminishing or distorting the Asian humanistic perspective.

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*"A Survey of Asian Literature Contained in Anthologies of World Literature for Use at the Secondary Level," published in _Focus on Asian Studies_, #17, Autumn 1969.

Presenting a Work by a Westerner as an Asian Source or Point of View

Pearl Buck's book may reflect some social conditions of China very well, but it should not be cited as an example of Chinese literature.
(Kai-yu Hsu on China Emerges, Benziger, 1973)

Shooting an Elephant is authentic Orwell, not authentic Burma. It tells how he felt about the Burmese and how he thought the Burmese felt toward him.
(Elgin Heinz on Cultural Exchange, Rand McNally, 1971)

The author...has a tendency to quote from Western writers when characterizing India, e.g., there are a number of quotations from Mark Twain and one from H.G. Wells. I would like more quotations from Indian writers and ordinary people to make India come alive. I am not sure why the author has quoted Mark Twain so often. Perhaps he believes that a familiar face will make India less inaccessible to American readers. But if I were reading this book as a manuscript I would certainly press him on this and ask for a few more quotations from India.
(Leonard Gordon on The Story of India, McCormick-Mathers, 1970)

Using Quotations from Western Authors as Sole Literary Reference

There are no Asian sources, outside of references to teachings of Buddha and Confucius. In fact, Kipling is quoted on South Asia, no one else. "Rudyard Kipling, an English poet who spent much of his life in India, wrote about 'elephants a-piling teak'" (p. 322). Why refer to any writer for this point when there are so many other times a writer might well be quoted?
(Reader comment on Living As World Neighbors, MacMillan, 1969)

Afghan literature is totally ignored, though it is rich in both the classical and the folk vein. The sole literary reference occurring in the text is to Rudyard Kipling's The Man Who Would be King (p. 13).
(Eden Naby on The Story of Afghanistan, McCormick-Mathers, 1965)

Mark Twain, Byron, and others are quoted here and there in the text, but no Asians are quoted.
(Junnko Tozaki Haverlick on World Geography, Southwestern, 1974)

Paucity of Suggested Readings by Asian Authors

It's interesting that many novels are suggested out of Western literature. These include: A Tale of Two Cities; Drums Along the Mohawk; Hornblower and the Hotspur; Celia Garth; The Three Musketeers; and A Bell for Adano. In spite of the fact that there are many excellent Asian novels available in English translation, nothing comparable is suggested, unless you count Anna and the King of Siam, which is offensive to most Thai people.
(Andrea Miller on Living World History, Scott Foresman, 1974)

Secondary Western Sources Distorting Asian Perspective

The book makes inadequate gestures towards a humanistic approach. People are not at the center and Western observers are quoted at much greater length than Asians.
(Jonathan Chaves on China-Korea-Japan, Cambridge, 1971)

The text attempts a humanistic approach. In cases like readings #20 "The Young Bride" or #21 "The Scholar/Chairman Wang" we are given human-centered accounts. Often, however, the secondary accounts provided diminish the human element.
(Thomas Rimer on Asian Cultures, Lippincott, 1974)

Some, or the first half, of the book is from a humanistic approach. The latter half is written from a specific, biased point of view. Where outside commentators are quoted--in the teacher's guide--only Americans are doing the commenting, i.e. J. Anthony Lukas and C. L. Sulzberger of The New York Times. Political cartoons in the text come from the United States, England, and the Netherlands, not from Indian newspapers. Maps, photos, and statistical charts have a more varied origin: Indian Information Service as well as various American sources. In general, the book needs an infusion of Indian sources to balance the American perspective. This is especially true of the chapters dealing with political questions. Nehru certainly needs to be quoted, for example, in defense of his policy of non-alignment. And China and Pakistan ought to be heard from to see what their sides of the stories were in their respective disagreements with India.
(Robert Swacker on India and the World Today, Laidlaw, 1966)

A special report which discusses difficulties and problems unique to the presentation of bibliographies and source readings is on file at The Asia Society. This report was written on the basis of 70 texts from four major publishers: Addison Wesley, Allyn & Bacon, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, and Laidlaw Brothers.

5. *Travelers' Tales*

People who travel usually return full of stories and anecdotes. While such experiences might be interesting in the context of dinner party conversation, one does not expect to find them included in textbooks as serious representations of Asian culture. In fact, the "travelers' tales" category was not anticipated by the evaluators, and thus was not included in the questionnaire. However, the two following reader responses show the necessity of recognizing "travelers' tales" in developing and evaluating materials.

In both examples, the authors are more concerned with *their* impressions of Japan than with trying to convey the Japanese experience of life in Tokyo or Zen meditation. While the student learns a great deal about the authors' travels, it is questionable how much he or she will be led to empathize with genuine Japanese experience:

> Scattered among the chapters are items called "eyewitness reports," and these are the closest the book comes to a direct glimpse of things Japanese. But most of the "eyewitness reports" turn out to be little squibs on the author's own experiences in Japan. *From the standpoint of an American first visiting Japan, the author's reactions are pretty standard and quite authentic. But they are also quite out of place in a textbook on Japan*. On pp. 12 and 13 he gives an account of his first exposure to Tokyo that is full of every silly cliche that one has ever

> heard on the subject: raw fish, unbelievable traffic jams, traffic noise, the rush hour, the Ginza lights, kamikaze taxis, impenetrable crowds. (emphasis added)
>
> His experience in trying to attain satori in a Zen temple in Kyoto is also foolish: "I had to assume the lotus position by tucking my feet under myself and sitting calmly. The session lasted only 15 minutes, but it was difficult to concentrate on nothingness....At the time I did not realize enough about true Zen to have the experience of satori...." (Royall Tyler on Japan and Korea, Oxford, 1972, p. 91)

Japan (Scott Foresman, 1971) relies heavily on accounts by Western observers which have been drawn from books, magazines, and newspapers:

> What worries me is the engaging but "cocktail party conversation" tone of much of the text. It's easy to distort when faced with things like: "all the little wooden houses look alike" or the "most devilish drivers are the cabmen." (pp. 27-28) These "experiences to be taken with a grain of salt" are just too much. And I don't care for the title of one piece, "Tokyo, Clueless Maze." Or on p. 29, the business about Shinjuku Station and how people get pushed out of their shoes. In fact, I really wonder if this isn't apocryphal.
> (Andrea Miller)

Besides tending to present an inaccurate and biased view of a culture, the use of "travelers' tales" usually precludes the utilization of more credible humanistic/human interest material.

6. "Re-tellings" of Myths, Legends, Folktales, and History

The "re-telling" of myths, legends, historical incidents, folktales, and other people-centered materials are used in lieu of actual source materials in translation. If sensitively and authentically done, "re-tellings" could be effective, but often the result is inaccurate, distorted, and inauthentic. It is understandable that concern with reading level might prompt editors and authors to simplify the vocabulary and writing style of some works; but this is still no excuse for:

a) Presenting "re-tellings" as actual Asian sources.

b) Recounting historical incidents in a condescending manner.

c) Changing the concept and story line of legend and mythology.

To complicate the issue, it can be impossible, particularly for the nonexpert, to tell whether or not a "re-telling" is authentic because sometimes:

a) Credits are omitted.

b) The credited text is not a standard scholarly work.

c) The credit states that the source is an abridgement from a text (often not an approved scholarly source) and does not make clear just what is meant by "abridgement."

The first two examples illustrate the use of probable fictional "re-tellings." Credits and authenticity are problems in both instances:

> There are no writings by Asians included. The folktale about Siamese cats is in no way credited. I have never heard it and tend to doubt its authenticity. It does not appear in any of the books of Thai folktales I would suggest as authentic.
> (Fern Ingersoll on Your Towns and Cities, Ginn, 1967)

> A humanistic opportunity has been lost. In the invented case study on p. 90, a story is told which if authentic could be one of the important myths of the Nagas. If it is authentic, it would be nice to have a translation of the story told in the Nagas' words rather than the invented story. No credits are given, so it is not possible to tell the source of the story.
> (Loretta Ryan on Inquiring About Cultures, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972)

The next example deals with Commodore Perry's arrival in Japan. Instead of drawing from actual Japanese accounts in translation, which also could have balanced Western observers' interpretations, the authors present this scene:

> ...as a fictional and sometimes condescending gimmick [which] is fragmented, unintegrated and stylistically inconsistent..."On July 7, 1853, the crews of some Japanese fishing boats in Tokyo Bay saw a strange sight. Into the mouth of the bay steamed a squadron of warships flying a foreign flag. The Japanese fishermen were speechless with amazement, for they had never seen a vessel propelled by steam."
> (Marshall R. Pihl on East Asia, Silver Burdett, 1970, p. 113)

New World and Eurasian Cultures (Allyn & Bacon, 1971) and Japan (Scott Foresman, 1971) both use the "re-telling" technique in relating the Japanese creation myth. The Allyn & Bacon version was not credited, but the Scott Foresman rendition is credited as being "abridged" from Mountains in the Sea -- The Challenge of Crowded Japan (Coward McCann, Inc., 1957).

The Scott Foresman version reads:

> "Long, long ago says a Japanese legend, all the earth was covered by a great sea. The god who ruled this watery domain one day decided to create land--land even more beautiful than the clear waters that lay under the sky. He dipped his shining spear into the sea, and when he raised it crystal-clear drops fell back. As they splashed into the sea, they formed the snow-white mountain peaks and the green forests of Japan. The larger drops became the larger islands; the smaller ones, the tiny rockly isles." (p. 20)

The reader makes the following comments about the Allyn & Bacon version, which is remarkably similar:

> I would question the accuracy of the re-telling of the Japanese creation myth, which is presented on

> p. 121. Their version goes as follows: "The Spear in the Waters--An Ancient Japanese legend: Once upon a time, the father of all the gods climbed high onto the arch of a rainbow. Far below, he could see the calm and misty ocean. Leaning over, he dipped his jeweled spear into the lovely blue water beneath. As he lifted it out, some drops of water fell from his spear and spattered over the waves. All at once these drops hardened to form the lovely islands of Japan."
>
> My impression was that two deities, male and female, did the sword-thrusting together, and that the whole business was a bit more involved and interesting than presented here. This should be checked.
> (Andrea Miller on New World and Eurasian Cultures, Allyn & Bacon, 1971)

The story was checked, and it is interesting to see what can happen to a myth by the time it has been processed and "textbookized." Here is an excerpt from the accepted Japanese version as it appears in the Nihongi. The translation is by W. G. Aston:

> "Izanagi [a male deity] and Izanami [a female deity] stood on the floating bridge of Heaven, and held counsel together, saying:
>
> 'Is there not a country beneath?'
>
> "Thereupon they thrust down the jewel spear of Heaven, and groping about therewith found the ocean. The brine which dripped from the point of the spear coagulated and became an island which received the name of Ono-goro-jima.
>
> "The two Deities thereupon descended and dwelt in this island. Accordingly they wished to become husband and wife together, and to produce countries.
>
> "So they made Ono-goro-jima the pillar of the center of the land.
>
> "Now the male deity turning by the left, and the female deity by the right, they went round the pillar of the land separately. When they met together on one side, the female deity spoke first and said: 'How delightful! I have met with a lovely youth.' The male deity was displeased, and said: 'I am a man, and by right should have spoken first. How is it that on the contrary thou, a women, should have been the first to speak? This was unlucky. Let us go round again.' Upon this the two deities went back, and having met anew, this time the male deity spoke first, and said: 'How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden.'

> "Then he inquired of the female deity, saying: 'In thy body is there aught formed?' She answered and said: 'In my body there is a place which is the source of feminity.' The male deity said: 'In my body again there is a place which is the source of masculinity. I wish to unite this source-place of my body to the source-place of thy body.' Hereupon the male and female first became united as husband and wife."
> (Sources of Japanese Tradition, Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. 25-26)

The two textbook versions have very little in common with the translation in Sources of Japanese Tradition, a standard scholarly work. The textbook authors cannot plead that there was no authentic source available because W. G. Aston's translation of the Nihongi was published in 1896, and Sources of Japanese Tradition has been available since 1958. Japan and New World and Eurasian Cultures were both copyrighted in 1971.

The male and female deities are changed into a single masculine figure, who is reminiscent of Neptune or Jupiter. The "floating bridge of Heaven" becomes a "rainbow." And the section that talks about Onogoro-jima and the subsequent dialogue about "producing countries" is left out entirely. Yet both textbook versions are accompanied by a Japanese painting from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston that depicts Izanami and Izanagi as "they thrust down the jewel spear of Heaven." One wonders if students ever notice the inconsistency, or if the textbook editors are aware of it themselves.

C. THE USE OF CASE STUDIES

1. Rationale

> "Each case study, focusing on a real family living in a specific place, attempts to make the student feel he has a personal contact with the people involved."
> (People and Places, Rand McNally, 1971, p. 5)

> "...An important value of the case study approach is that it gives focus to the material being studied. Concentration on a specific people, place or idea will be much easier for pupils to cope with...."
> (Teacher's guide for each textbook in Silver Burdett's "Contemporary Social Science Curriculum" series)

Case studies, which may or may not be drawn from genuine anthropological and sociological research, are advocated by textbooks as an effective way of presenting social science concepts within a frame of reference that centers on people and their culture. In fact, case studies are often the closest that a textbook will come to including humanistic/human interest materials.

Both text and photographs are utilized in case studies. In materials for the earlier grades, such as Living in Japan (Silver Burdett, 1966), the entire lesson may be composed of photographs, showing a "silent version" of a Japanese family's daily life (though the teacher is given an accompanying guide).

Out of a sample of 260 texts, readers reported that case studies appeared in 75 instances. Upon further examination, it was discovered that out of these 75 texts, only 8 received a "dominant" score on humanistic/human interest approach, and only three scored "dominant" on both approach and content.

2. Case Studies Centered on People and Their Culture

For the most part readers did not respond positively to case studies, so the bulk of the case study section will have to deal with their concerns and objections. However, there were also some favorable comments. The case study technique, particularly when it presents a culture as being rational within its own value system, has the potential for encouraging student empathy and providing a strong element of human interest. The following two examples indicate how this can be done by drawing on authentic, people-centered materials. Frank Buchanan notes that in The Human Experience (Houghton Mifflin, 1974) a case study is used to:

> present a culture as rational within its own context and cultural value system. In the exercises for students throughout the text, they are asked how they would feel given the situation discussed and to examine the feelings of the people within the culture before being asked to make a cross-cultural comparison. Example: story of young Japanese couple (p. 353 ff.). "Feedback" exercises ask students to compare understanding of a good life as the parents see it as opposed to how the young couple sees it; then only as the young couple sees it as opposed to how the students would see it.

Thelma Davis says of People and Culture (Rand McNally, 1975):

> The authors used good anthropological studies. The all-over impression of the book is positive. People can understand other cultures....The material is mainly biographical and involves individual voices within the villages of India or in Japan....the main materials used are quotes from people about things within their culture.

The next two readers describe texts that present people-centered case studies through photographs:

> The approach is predominantly humanistic, centering around human beings and their everyday and special-day activities. People, and often children, are at the

> center, and can be seen from the pictures which form the core of the lessons. The work includes Asian voices as opposed to outside observers to the extent that 7 of the 14 photos which form the basic source of the information were taken by Japanese. (Roland Lange on Living in Japan, Silver Burdett, 1966)

> Nearly one-third of the text is explicitly devoted to "Culture." People are at the center. Many chapters have special three-page sections in which the student meets a local family through text and photos. (Reader comment on Regions of the World, Science Research Associates, 1973)

3. "Invented" Case Studies

Far more frequently, however, textbook case studies are inventions replete with "fanciful misinformation," as one reader put it. They are filled with situations, dialogue, and attitudes that have either been invented outright or seem to have been very loosely constructed from scholarly evidence and presented as fact. They fail seriously as attempts to let real Asian people emerge through their own words and way of life.

Because the people in the case studies may appear to be real--after all, they have names and sometimes conversations with each other and their American friends--teachers and students might think that they are reading authentic and accurate primary sources when they are not.

The following four examples show reader response to invented case studies:

> I think that the teacher's guide is more idealistic than the text. It states that: "The Silver Burdett Contemporary Social Science Curriculum uses thoughtfully constructed materials to instill a lasting interest in our human society; to develop a respect for the dignity and worth of all men....a mandate is evident: to build social science materials upon the real rather than the contrived." (emphasis added) However, I found very little

that was real in the India section. The chapter is largely dependent upon an invented case study that seems to say more about the authors' notions of India than what Indian people might have to say about themselves. In this text, the authentic and invented are listed together: for example, the story of Robin Graham, a real person who sailed around the world alone, and the Indian family.
(Andrea Miller on This is Man, Silver Burdett, 1972, teacher's guide, p. 4)

On pp. 49-51 the author presents a fictionalized account of participation in the civil service examination. The fictitious participant is called Cheng She Kit; this name appears to be a hodgepodge of Mandarin and Cantonese pronunciations since the sounds "she" and "kit" do not exist, or are not spelled that way in Mandarin. In any event, the given name should be hyphenated. Cheng is described as having "cut a piece from the stick of ink" and having "mixed it with the water on his palette." Then the conduct of the examination is described..."the examiner began to read. He read a passage from the teachings of Confucius. As he read, She Kit wrote down the words, painting each character as beautifully as he could. Then he wrote an explanation of what the words meant. The examiner read another passage. She Kit wrote down the words and the new explanation. This continued all that day, and the next, and the next." This description goes on and on, and on. It is all wholly inaccurate, from the way Chinese ink is used, to the way the examinations were conducted, as any one who has read a single book on China might know. Such fanciful misinformation, even when imaginatively presented, can do no good.
(F. W. Mote on The Story of China, McCormick-Mathers, 1968)

Since this text uses a case study approach, there is much conversation and obviously the authors tried through this literary device to allow the South Asians to speak for themselves. The studies are invented, though, so the student reader does not really see evidence of how South Asians see themselves in their own words, or art, or literature.
(Lenore Burckel on People In Change: South Asia, Addison Wesley, 1975)

While the actual thing and occurrence described seem authentic enough, there is an artificiality about the families and the accounts of their "daily life" which makes the whole thing reek of contrived situations.
(Tin-Mala on At Home Around the World, Ginn, 1968)

How can a teacher or student be confident that he or she is reading the real thing? Actual case studies based on research in the field are sometimes credited, as in People and Places (Rand McNally, 1971) and Life in Communist China (Addison Wesley, 1969). But acknowledgments, even for apparently authentic sources, are rare; and only one reader has mentioned an instance of an "invented" case study being presented as such.*

4. Through American Eyes or Through Asian Eyes?

Readers have noted that most case studies (usually invented, though sometimes taken from actual situations) do not help the student to experience a culture through Asian eyes. Instead, situations are presented that teach more about the ways in which Americans see Asian peoples and culture than how Asians see themselves:

> "...Yokichi's sisters were prepared to be good wives. Like all upper-class Japanese women, they had to know the arts of flower arranging and performing the tea ceremony. A woman was expected to excel in these arts and in cooking and other wifely duties so that her parents could arrange a good marriage for her." The voices in both of the case studies are supposed to be Asian... but they sound more like Americans because they view things with American eyes. (emphasis added)
> (Roland Lange on Japan, MacMillan, 1970, p. 6)

As in the case of Yokichi's sisters, this can lead to a stereotyped idea of what people are like. While there is some truth in what is said about the education of upper-class Japanese women it is still a generalization written from the perspective of an outsider looking in. There is no way that a student might understand or empathize with Yokichi's sisters from their point of view.

---

* Andrea Miller on India (Scott Foresman, 1971), p. 32.

Another example written from the perspective of an outsider looking in is the "invented" case study, "Sachin Wins But Still Loses" (Inquiring About Cultures, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972, p. 254). Sachin is a Harijan who makes good against all odds. He returns home wearing a Western suit and shiny new shoes, only to be rejected and left standing in the dust by the caste-conscious people of his village. It seems more like a Horatio Alger plot gone sour than an actual Indian experience. While Sachin's plight might evoke some pity and soap-opera tears, it is inaccurate, inauthentic, and leaves no chance for empathy. Professor Norman Zide and Arlene Zide say:

> The story of Sachin, the untouchable boy, is not badly presented, but the usual exaggeration makes the basically plausible and moving story a little fairy-tale like. Why (this would be unlikely) does Sachin have to have "the best grades of anyone," and not just good grades (there are quotas and concessions for Harijans, not that these need to be mentioned here). The "going out with a few girls" notion is nice and American, but not the way things are done in India. Gupta is not usually a Brahmin name. That people at work would not be curious--and knowledgable--about Sachin's caste is unlikely. The scenario of Sachin's return to his village (Western suit, etc. etc.) is phony. Sachin's attitudes and expectations in this are over-ingenuous. He knows what to expect, and the starry-eyed fellow that the story portrays makes him seem a little more foolish and unreal than he could possibly be.

The "through American eyes" syndrome also appears when people in case studies seem to be "like us" or desirous of emulating "American" or "Western" culture and society. Perhaps authors think that by stressing the familiar they can foster student interest and understanding. But in the process, the authentic Asian experience may be remolded to fit an American "ideal," or not represented at all. Unfortunately, this can lead to a Western-centered or inaccurate view of Asian peoples and cultures.

Fern Ingersoll shows how the familiar but inauthentic device of Siamese twins is incorporated, probably to engage student interest. By doing this, the authors have missed an opportunity to present genuine Thai people in an empathy-provoking way.

> Sometimes the attempt to put the emphasis on people is not successful, because the author does not seem to know enough about Thai people to avoid inaccuracies, or atypical material. She probably uses the "twins," Seri and Somsi, to introduce village life because American children are interested in twins. However, twins are very rare in Thailand. If she had introduced a brother and sister with one or two years' difference in their age, she could have presented values such as status and reciprocity (protection from the older; obedience from the younger) which differ from American values but, especially when seen in the relationships between children, can be empathized with.
> (Fern Ingersoll on The Story of Thailand, McCormick-Mathers, 1966)

The next three readers are also concerned about stressing Western perspectives and cultural "likeness" at the expense of authenticity:

> The text has a human interest approach. Stories about Japanese children are included. However, they are difficult to evaluate. They are not credited and sometimes they seem to have been invented in order to show that certain behavioral patterns (family rules and authority) exist in both American and Japanese society....
> (Loretta Ryan on Children in Other Lands, Allyn & Bacon, 1970)

> There is a generalized attempt to make our Pakistani family more accessible by stressing their likeness to us, which often results in an inauthentic ring: We hear of Bashir's preference for khaki trousers and tight jeans on p. 2 (and do Europeans and Americans really wear khaki trousers?), and his hope on p. 13 for "good grades"; on p. 16 a Pakistani bride says "I do."
> (Margaret Lindsey on The Story of Pakistan, McCormick-Mathers, 1966)

> Chapter 17: "Life in China Today" is built around the family of Ten Fu-lai, and especially a son who goes to live with the Chung relatives in Peking. The whole situation seems too contrived to be true,

> and has the earmark of Western perspectives throughout. There is no reason why authentic stories from primary Chinese sources could not have been used.
> (Michael Fonte on China, Scholastic, 1973)

The examples given so far are assumed to be inventions. However, even case studies that are not pure invention may encourage the student to see through American rather than Asian eyes.

> While not exactly invented, it seems strange, at best, that the section on "Case Study/Japanese Business Society" begins with a selection from Newsweek by an American businessman and concludes with a hypothetical sketch of a Japanese executive trying to explain to his colleagues some of the strange concepts and behavior patterns of an American businessman. Why not take some good primary sources?
> (Michael Fonte on Changes in Asian Society, Cambridge, 1974)

5. Through American Eyes: The Progress-Centered Approach

> "...all the Nakamuras sleep in one bedroom divided by a screen. The road to the house is not paved. There is a growing list of appliances in the Nakamura home--an electric refrigerator, stove, toaster, and color television. Yet the bathroom is far from modern. The toilet is primitive, and there is no shower."
> (Jonathan Chaves on China-Japan-Korea, Cambridge, 1971, p. 196)

The "through American eyes" genre of case study has another important aspect, which exists on its own or in combination with the characteristics already discussed. This is the use of a progress-centered approach. The progress-centered case study emphasizes economics, technology, and politics at the expense of the humanities, often projecting American values and attitudes upon Asian case study people.

Not surprisingly, case studies of this sort usually appear to be invented, though there are some exceptions. As in the example given on the previous page of the Nakamura family, a people's worth is measured by what they have or don't have according to "American" standards; how quickly they are willing to give up tradition and become "modern" or "Western." Some Asian people might agree with these goals; but they are rarely heard speaking in their own words or on their own cultural terms. In fact, they often seem incapable of taking the initiative to help themselves or to act responsibly.

The following three examples all show emphasis on what people in Japan, India, and Indonesia do not have:

> "Sekine...owns only 1.5 acres of land--hardly more than a 'backyard' in American terms, but an average size farm in overcrowded Japan." Always a slight, unrecognized, we-they bias. Also a developmental slant, an emphasis on the possessions of the people, the pride in new appliances and so on. Not enough sense of the people themselves. Always "looking at" people rather than empathizing with them.
> (Andrea Miller on Japan, Scott Foresman, 1971, p. 53)
>
> Here is a painting of Indian women doing their laundry in a stream. The other two pictures on this page are photos--of a woman in a U.S. laundromat and workers in a German car factory. The familiar is made even more real by being portrayed through photographs while the invented drawing emphasizes how little the Indian women have when compared to the other two cultures.
> (Andrea Miller on Man and His Communities, Benefic, 1971, p. 106)
>
> "Most villagers have no electricity in their homes so they have no radios or television sets for entertainment. They have no books or magazines to read either." (p. 10)
>
> "There is no bathtub in Slamet's house, none in other farmers' houses. In fact, there's no running water at all." (p. 13)
>
> "Farm families, like Slamet's, do not use knives, forks, or spoons, as you do." (p. 27)

> "All boys and girls are supposed to receive at least six years of schooling. However, many children in Indonesia do not go to school at all. Many families are very poor, and the children are needed to help in the home or in the fields." (p. 28)
> (The Story of Indonesia, McCormick-Mathers, 1965)

The next case study is slanted primarily towards the political. There are also overtones of a condescending "white man's burden" attitude, and the reader indicates that the study is both inauthentic and inaccurate.

> Chapter 19--the opening story for Southeast Asia is a story of Ellen and her father, an American businessman, who are seeing Bangkok by a boat trip on a canal. Siri is usually a girl's name; here it is used for a man.
>
> Siri, unlike most Thais, who won't talk politics with strangers, speaks of "the threat of Communist China" and says that the Thais "have little defense against the huge army of China."
>
> The American, acting in an almost patronizing and certainly "let me, the American help you" manner, tells Siri that he and his group of men can get him a scholarship so that Siri can learn modern ways so that Thailand will have educated leaders.
> (Reader comment on Your World and Mine, Ginn, 1969, p. 388)

Condescension is also implicit in the next account that deals with Afghanistan. Little is seen through Afghan eyes. The case study relies heavily on a "lecture-tone account" as Derek and Mary's father tells how:

> "...our Afghan friends are making rapid progress toward adoption of Western achievements...buses! Why when I was there a year ago, they didn't have any public transportation." (p. 126) This implies that local animal, carriage, or cart transportation, for hire, was not a system of public transportation--but that public transportation somehow was a Western concept introduced into the East through the advent of mechanized travel....A far more stimulating and enriching approach would have been to introduce Afghan characters, as government

> officials, peers of the children, truck drivers, shopkeepers, servants and farmers....Could not translations have been used?
> (Eden Naby on The Story of Afghanistan, McCormick-Mathers, 1965)

In the following example, the Ono family are not seen as being responsible, but as "children of the company." At the same time they appear to be more Western than Japanese.

> "Case Study: The Modernization of Japan"
>
> This case study featuring the Ono family is offensive, misleading, and not particularly a Japanese family.
>
> Japanese "workers are thought of as children of the company; a company would never fire its children." Undoubtedly, the attempt was to establish the concept of loyalty, but unfortunately it comes off depicting the Japanese as incapable of being adults.
>
> In this case study there is little that is Japanese. Change the names of the Ono Family and it could have been written about any Western family.
> (Reader comment on People and Culture, Noble and Noble, 1974, pp. 343-344)

The next example is of particular interest because the reader's remarks are concerned with an actual interview taken from Jan Myrdal's Report From a Chinese Village (William Heinemann Ltd., 1965). The interview was included in Life in Communist China (Addison Wesley, 1965). This case study is not an "invention," but the reader indicates how assumptions about economics and politics may be allowed to overshadow equally important cultural aspects of life:

> The effect of the readings, particularly in transcripts of interviews, is to focus on the economic and political aspects of life in China. It is clear that the interviewers asked questions about economic and political matters and so they got a description of a typical day's events in terms of economic and political activities. (pp. 10-11) The impression made on students would be that Chinese lead a bland and dull life, completely lacking in human feeling, humor, or spontaneity.
> (Loretta Ryan on Life in Communist China, Addison Wesley, 1969)

6. Dick and Jane and Other Robots

A common denominator running through the readers' case-study criticisms has been a concern with contrived situations, general lifelessness, and an absence of real and authentic people. This section will present the comments of readers whose objections draw special attention to the unbelievability and lifelessness of case study plots and the "robots" who act in them.

Some readers saw this as an Asian "Dick and Jane" syndrome. While appearing at all levels, it is usually found in textbooks for earlier grades. It's almost as if editors think it necessary to use "baby talk" or "cute" situations for younger students, instead of addressing them in an adult and straight-forward manner. The first reader discusses the effect this approach had on his eight-year old daughter:

> The problem is that "big people" think that because a second grade child may not know how to read too well, he or she does not know much English. The writer then tries to put everything in sentences that average about six words in length and never contain such things as cause and effect, etc. within the same sentence. This makes for extremely unnatural English which is deadening to the senses and the intellect. This, by the way, is one reason why U.S. schools keep producing non-readers; the children in lower grades are never given anything in real English to read. If you could hear my eight-year-old do her "reading act" on this book with a sing-song "Dick and Jane" voice, you would know what I mean. But just try to read the following passage:
>
> "We will take a walk to the woods.
> The woods are near our school.
> We will walk on this path to the woods.
>   We will take our walk in the morning.
> We will see many things in the woods.
>   Birds live in the trees in the woods.
> Squirrels live in the trees too.
> Rabbits live on the ground.
>   We will look for birds and squirrels.
> We will look for rabbits.
>   Some of the trees are maple trees.
> We will see many maple trees."

> How about something like this instead?
>
> In the morning we will take a walk to the woods
> near our school.
> We will walk on this path and see many things in the
> woods.
> We will look for birds and rabbits and squirrels.
> Rabbits live on the ground, but birds and squirrels
> live in trees.
> Some of the trees are maple trees. We will see
> many of them.
> (The eight-year-old considers this an acceptable style.)
> (Roland Lange on *Living in Places Near and Far*,
> MacMillan, 1969, pp. 2-3)

The next three readers also note the presence of unreal "Dick and Jane" characters and situations:

> It is ironic that this book is humanistically oriented but fails to evoke any believable human experience ....it is based upon a fictional concept in which a Korean Dick and Jane hear, see, and experience what the author wishes to convey about Korea....Aside from the words the author puts into the mouths of her Korean family members and one or two quotations from Confucius, Asian voices are not heard in this book.
> (Marshall R. Pihl on *The Story of Korea*, McCormick-Mathers, 1969)
>
> There is an attempt to create little boys and girls--first cousins to Dick and Jane--who talk and question in a cardboard way.
> (Reader comment on *Exploring Regions Near and Far*, Follett, 1971)
>
> The best one [illegible] say of this book is that it is relatively harmless. The stories are merely stories; one cannot empathize with characters in a contrived situation....The occurrences described are normal enough but the overall tone is so unreal. One objects strongly to having in every story a brother and sister hero and heroine with "Mother" and "Father" and "Little Brother."
> (Tin-Mala on *At Home Around the World*, Ginn, 1968)

Harold P. Wright draws attention to the robot aspect of this phenomena. Here, an invisible "You," who is assumed to be the student, visits the Hoshino family in Japan. The "You" participates only peripherally in their daily life. There is never any real interchange between the "You" and the Hoshinos. Everyone, including the student, is objectified and reduced to a "robot" status:

> Here "You" visits a village in Kyushu: "The Hoshinos, a farmer and his family, have invited 'You' to visit their home." (p. 92) But there is no conversation. Mr. Hoshino (no first names, we don't know how many children they have. But they do watch T.V.) doesn't even appear until the next day. "You" eat alone with a mute robot named Mrs. Hoshino: "'You' sit down on the mat, and your hostess places a tray in front of you. On the tray are some pickled radishes. She bows very low, and fills your cup from a small teapot. When 'You' have finished your tea, Mrs. Hoshino brings another tray." Maybe it is because "You" is a "special guest" that he doesn't even have to say "Thanks." (Single quotation marks and capitalization have been added for emphasis.)
> (Harold Wright on Japan, Fideler, 1974)

Another invisible "You" and more robots appear in Eastern Lands (Allyn & Bacon, 1968). This passage also to some readers conveys a negative and disparaging attitude towards Japanese food and customs:

> "When 'You' go into a Japanese home, 'You' must take off your shoes. 'You' sit on the mats instead of chairs. If 'You' are there for a meal, the food is brought to 'You' on a tray and placed on small stools or tables about a foot high. 'Your' meal will probably consist of not very much more than rice, fish, perhaps soybeans, and tea. Of course 'You' will eat with chopsticks if 'You' are willing to take a chance on using them. 'You' may find that 'You' can handle them well." (Single quotation marks and capitalization have been added to "You" for emphasis.) (p. 399)

A Japanese bank manager, who is introduced only as "He," and functions like a mechanical doll, appears in the following passage:

> "The manager of one of the country's biggest banks in Tokyo may return each evening to a traditional home that has straw mats (tatami) and sliding doors (shoji). 'He' probably will take off his shoes be-

> fore entering the house, will put on comfortable Japanese clothes, take a bath in a deep wooden tub, and eat Japanese food. 'He' may expect deference from his wife and children and enjoy ancient music and drama. 'He' may also visit the village of his ancestors to pay his respects to the ancestral shrine." (Single quotation marks have been added to "He" for emphasis.)
> (Japan: Today's World in Focus, Ginn, 1968, p. 55)

The next quote shows a further example of dehumanized, wooden portrayals of people in China, Japan, and India:

> These seemed accurate but emotionless. The first two, of a factory worker and a farmer in China, had emphasis on hard work, but had sense of communal pride. No fun. The Japanese farmer study indicated old people ran farms. The Prasad family was hard-working, unhappy, hopeless, poor.
> (Reader comment on The Eastern Hemisphere, Allyn & Bacon, 1969)

The "Dick and Jane robot syndrome" can lead to another difficulty: When people are portrayed as being lifeless or one-dimensional, students may get the impression of cultural uniformity and think that case-study people are typical of all other people in that country:

> There are some subtle things to watch for in the teaching of this material. Students may tend to assume that all families in a particular country will behave and live in conditions similar to the one focused on in the case study. The case study approach limits the degree to which one can portray pluralism in a society or even in one given area.
> (Loretta Ryan on People in Families, Addison Wesley, 1972)

Another reader says:

> ...Nor are the different places in the book truly representative of the rest of the country in which they are but small units: the places are stated in the introduction to be a sample selection of places around the world but it should have been prominently featured somewhere that they are not typical samples of the various countries.
> (Tin-Mala on At Home Around the World, Ginn, 1968)

The Many Lives of Enlightened Ram and Toothless Ram

The progress-centered case study as seen through American eyes, with a cast of unreal people, is vividly illustrated by the characters of Enlightened Ram and Toothless Ram.

Ram appears in a variety of incarnations throughout a range of texts, but he usually shows only two faces. One is the poverty-stricken, "backward," "Toothless Ram," who can barely scrape along from day to day. The other, whom we shall meet first, is "Enlightened Ram." This Ram is in favor of progress, modernity, and Western ways. He is condescending and impatient with his family and countrymen, who cling to their traditions and are slow to change. He is against the caste system, and in favor of democracy. He sees America as an idealized, slumless place where no one goes hungry. While there are Indians who might resemble him is some respects, in textbooks he is a caricature.

Ram of Ramipur (This is Man, Silver Burdett, 1972) is returning home from Calcutta. He is facing a difficult decision:

> "Should he stay in Ramipur to become a farmer and take over the land of his forefathers? Or should he return to the city and make a new and different life for himself? 'If only Father would listen to me more,' Ram thought. 'Then we could turn our land into a great producer of grain.'
>
> "Perhaps he had been wrong to leave his village to work in Calcutta. He remembered the shaking finger and strong advice Grandmother had given him. She had warned him that he would surely be reborn an untouchable or even an animal. This would happen if he did not do his duty and become a farmer."

After many conversations with himself, he decides that if his father does not agree to try some of the new wheat seed, Mexican 14:

> "Ram would go back to Calcutta. He would forget about farming and living in Ramipur."

However, his father surprises him, and addresses him in an "invented" dialogue:

> "'Ram,' Father went on, 'times are not the same as they used to be. Once it was possible to farm the land and to live on what we grew. Nothing really changes from year to year. Now there is a rustling in the land. I can hear it. Mother India seems to be waking as if from sleep. Soon there will be a new road to Ramipur. Last night I was listening to the radio. I heard that our farmers will someday be able to feed everyone in our country.'"
> (All quotes drawn from pp. 106-114)

In People and Cultures (Noble and Noble, 1974) we meet Ram again. This time:

> "Ram is a farmer who is now living in a small village near Bombay. One of the government advisers came to discuss the new method of rice growing....Even his own father warned him against changing his ways. 'Take whatever God gives you,' he said. 'Don't ask for too much.'"

However, he agrees to try the new agricultural methods, and:

> "Many years later, Ram looked back on the changes he had made. He had learned to use fertilizer. He was now borrowing tools from the village's new cooperative. He was buying good seed. He was using a new plow and sickle that were better than the ones his father and grandfather used. All of this puzzled Ram's father. He remarked, 'You are getting everything--good seed, fine fertilizer, and good tools--as if a spirit is bringing all these to you.'"
> (All quotes taken from p. 278)

"Enlightened Ram" appears again, this time in Four Lands Four Peoples (D. C. Heath, 1969):

> "After four years of study at an agricultural university in the United States, Ram has come to India. [Driving home they enter] an old section of the city. [Ram sees] crowds of people [and he thinks that] many of the people have no homes at all. They live on the street all year round. Ram looks sad. He has not seen this sight in America. His father tells him that the government is building new housing for poor people in the cities. There will be better homes for some of these people.

[Later at a family gathering Ram says,]" 'When I first got to Europe and then to America...I thought I liked those countries better. I thought I might like to stay where people have a higher standard of living. But as the weeks went by, I missed my own people and my own way of life. I had a reason for studying modern scientific farming in America. I wanted to come back and work for a higher standard of living for India. I would like to see more Indian people eat as well as we do, and as well as people do in Europe and America. I want to help our land produce more.'

[That evening] "After dinner there is much talking and visiting. Then a cousin begins to sing. Indian people love music. They have their own style of music which would sound strange to our ears. Chandra had made up a dance. The dance tells the story of Ram's going away to study and then coming home. While Chandra dances, mother makes music for her on the *sitar*, an instrument like a guitar.

[The story continues and Ram goes to visit his cousin Dhan who is a Development Officer in a village outside of Bombay. Ram expresses dismay because] "'I never thought it would be so hard for the village people to change their ways.'

"'One step at a time!' says Dhan. 'Already the other castes have learned to work with the untouchables. Never again will they have to drink river water. The way of life here changes only very slowly, but it is changing.'"
(All quotes taken from pp. 259-267)

"Enlightened Ram" occasionally goes by some other names as well:

"This was the home Krishna was expected to return to. But after six years of being away, he was no longer sure that he was suited to live under the rules of the family. For some time he had run his own life, and he thought that it would be hard to take orders from the older members of the family. He wanted to choose his own career and his own wife. This was not acceptable to his grandfather's way of life."
(*South Asia*: *People in Change*, Addison Wesley, 1975, p.29)

"The Mukerjees are members of the merchant caste called Khatri. It is one of the highest castes. When it was time for Balaram to marry, Baljit suggested the daughter of another Khatri. But Balaram had other ideas. He knew the great Indian leaders Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru did not believe in the caste system. Like them he believed the caste system was a great handicap to the development of modern India...."
(*Culture in the Eastern Hemisphere*, D. C. Heath, 1971, p. 413)

Now, we meet the "Toothless Ram" incarnation. He lives in the most abject poverty, but there seems little hope of anything better, since he doesn't want to change his ways. He is superstitious, illiterate, and old-fashioned. He represents the India that "Enlightened Ram" and the textbooks want to change. Appropriately enough, he appears first of all in Exploring a Changing World (Globe, 1968):

> "Ram is a toothless little man who lives in a small village in India. He is a poor tenant farmer. He cannot read or write, but he is not different in this respect from millions of others. At 42, he looks and feels like an old man. He and his wife had seven children, but only three, two sons and a daughter, are still alive. Both of his sons are married and live with him. He is worried because his daughter is not yet married." (p. 681)

This Ram turns up again in India (Scott Foresman, 1971):

> "Ram Das is one of the villagers of Indpore. He is a small, emaciated [skinny] almost toothless little man....Ram is illiterate [unable to read and write], and he was a poverty-stricken tenant farmer until he received four acres of land when [the government divided up the land] in Indpore....Deepali [his wife] and Ram have seven children altogether, but only three are still alive....Deepali is the same age as Ram, a wornfaced wiry little woman with a gold nose ring. She is even more...old-fashioned than Ram."
> (pp. 32-34)

"Toothless Ram" also goes by other names:

> "Arun cannot read or write....For the past few years he has had a bad cough in his chest. He went to the village doctor and paid him three rupees or 42¢ for treatment. The doctor rubbed his chest with a large red stone and told him the coughing would stop. It never did and Arun has not been back to the doctor because he does not want to spend more money."
> (Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, p. 316)

> "Lol Sharma had already lost one wife while she was giving birth on the sidewalk. At 18 years of age he knew of no other existence than the streets even though he wasn't born on them. His father had angered the village landlord and as a result had been unable to find work. The family had moved to Bombay in a desperate effort to stay alive.

> "Through petty theft and occasional work Lol's father had raised Lol and five other children. A number had died; Lol wasn't sure how many. For most of his life, Lol moved about the city sleeping and eating wherever his father and mother stopped. If they found a source of food they stayed in the area until something happened to change the situation. Food might be scavenged from a friendly garbage can or possibly stolen from a careless business. If the police should actually catch you they, or the judge, normally let you go with a warning and a few blows about the buttocks or head. Theft was very low key and usually only enough to provide a meal or possibly two or three."
> (India: Focus on Change, Prentice-Hall, 1975, p. 103)

D. CONCLUSIONS

> It is bad to use the inauthentic, but even worse when the inauthentic blocks out the authentic.
> (Fern Ingersoll)

> The kind of anthropology that these school texts present, with no attention to tradition, or the humanities, or native categories and expressive materials, may be accurate in facts and figures, but they are not authentic. Such anthropology when it is not wooden is brazen.
> (A. K. Ramanujan)

Readers' findings for humanistic/human interest approach and content were discouraging. Out of 260 texts, only 17 received a "dominant" rating on both approach and content. The majority of texts were not people-centered, and did not use actual Asian voices or try to see through Asian eyes. In most texts, little was done to assist the student towards an accurate, authentic experience of Asian peoples and cultures.

Works by Western writers and case studies invented by American textbook authors were used to characterize Asian attitudes. There was little reliance, through translations and other source material, on literature, the fine arts, and other primary expressions of Asian experience. If these were included at all, they appeared mainly in "adaptation" or "re-telling" form. Because credits are usually omitted, it would be difficult for the nonspecialist to distinguish the true from the false, the real from the unreal.

There was also a tendency to subordinate the humanities to a progress-centered approach, which emphasized economics, technology, and politics. The arts, religion, and literature were seen as progress-inhibiting forces or as worth mentioning but insignificant in revealing what is important about a people. The emphasis on "progress" seemed to be a major factor in contributing to a depersonalization of the human element: Stereotypes of "important" and "typical" people went hand in hand with robot-like, lifeless portrayals of human beings.

VI. STYLE AND TONE (Based on 188 texts)

Responses to the question on style and tone are based on a great number of variables, in particular varying sensitivities. Words in one context may be value-laden or charged expressions, while in another they may have no emotional overtones at all. Textbook authors have refrained from such offensive practices as calling the Khmer Republic a "half-assed nation," as one politician did recently. Nevertheless language used within a particular context reinforces many of the American assumptions discussed elsewhere in this report.

A. CONDESCENDING LANGUAGE

A number of reviewers pointed out instances where an author's style and tone conveyed various degrees of condescension toward Asian societies. Such authors often tend to assume the identity of a patronizing "tutor" who hands down judgments on the subject matter from on high, displaying occasional amusement at the situation under scrutiny. In response to the question "Is there a condescending, moralistic, or patronizing tone?" one reader reported as follows on a text on Japan:

> There is in respect to calling traditional (pre-Perry) Japan "backward and weak" (page 20). One also gets it in the comparison of the Japanese standard of living with that of the U.S. (page 33). The most consistent example of patronizing tone is the assumption of the role of "tutor" in regard to democracy and other matters.

> See, for instance, page 2: "As we shall note later, the basic weakness of party organization is one of the problems of Japanese democracy." Also, page 27: "To a remarkable extent the Japanese citizen can say what he thinks, read what he wishes, and write what he believes." Why is it "remarkable" unless we assume that other countries will not be free? Finally, page 28: "Certain basic democratic principles are also not yet firmly implanted. Majority and minority rights are one example."
> (Roland Lange on Japan, Ally in the Far East, Laidlaw, 1967)

There were even more blatant examples of this attitude but they were less frequent. One worth noting is the characterization of Japanese soldiers and their American counterparts in World War II that was found by Royall Tyler in Oxford's Japan and Korea: "The undefeated Japanese warriors were put to the real test in 1942. The divine, fanatical, suicidal samurai was matched against the light-hearted, humorous Yank who excelled in the use of his weapons." (p. 50)

The most explicit statement from a reader on condescending tone came from an evaluation of a popular world history text, Allyn & Bacon's The Pageant of World History. Here the author utilizes a metaphor that demeans and trivializes the aspiration of Asians in the colonial period for personal and political freedom--comparing them to rebellious children revolting against parental authority:

> The use of condescending language is a particular problem with this text. For example, "With the great kings of the Western world, Asoka of India deserves an honored place" (p. 78). And "In 1959, young Prince Akihito married a girl not of royal birth. This marriage is a sign that perhaps Japan is changing its ways and is learning the ways of democracy" (p. 245). This is perhaps the most offensive example: "Many of you may be envious of your married brothers and sisters because they seem to have more privileges, freedoms and duties than you have....In short, your married brothers and sisters are on their own. Many of you are in a hurry to grow up so that you, too, may be on your own and independent.
>
> "In the 'family of nations,' colonial 'children' of 'mother' countries often feel this way too. They want to 'grow up,' control their own affairs, make their own laws, and spend their own money....

> "In this chapter you will study mainly the British and French 'families of nations' because, in days past, these countries had many colonies and some proved to be 'problem children' indeed. How these nations tried to control their colonies and solve the problems they had will be told in the pages that follow."(p. 480) Aside from equating being grown up and independent with being married, which I strongly object to, describing Asian countries under colonialism as "problem children" is unforgiveable; the white man's burden lives on. (Nancy Lanoue on The Pageant of World History, Allyn & Bacon, 1974)

B. ETHNOCENTRIC AND VALUE-LADEN WORDS AND PHRASES

1. The Language of Tradition and Modernity: Economic Development or the Lack of it

Most of the words in this category are judgmental words such as "underdeveloped," "backwards," and "primitive." Frequently these words are used in such a way as to imply that the entire society or civilization is included in the judgment, not merely the economic sector. Many readers have reported that the language used to describe "traditional" aspects of Asian societies tends to have negative connotations in contrast to the positive adjectives that are used to describe the "modern" and "progressive" industrialized aspects of a society.

The figures given after each of the following words refer to the number of times readers reported that the term was used in a value-laden or ethnocentric manner.

"progress"	33
"modern," "modernize," "modernization"	36
"Westernization"	25
"development"	22
"less developed" "underdeveloped"	26
"backwards"	20

"primitive"	14
"catching up with the West"	2
"practical superiority of European civilization"	1
"up-to-date way of living"	4
"advanced countries"	4
Asia is "tradition-bound"; the West has "surged ahead"	1
"old-fashioned ways of living"	5
"superstitions of the past"	1
"irrational beliefs"	1
"static, unchanging civilizations"	3
"in the grip of tradition"	1
"haves" vs "have-nots"	1

2. Cold War Language

Cold War language permeates many of the texts, especially those published during the 1960's. There does appear to be a diminution in the use of charged language to describe China since President Nixon's visit to that country in 1972. One reader reported that the text she was reviewing had been substantively revised between the 1968 and the 1973 editions:

> A few chapters on China have been revised to present a more balanced view of the P.R.C. Such paragraphs as "Human Ants" (p. 86) and "lack of modern conveniences" (p. 87) have been omitted. Many of the author's comments of disapproval of the P.R.C. have disappeared.
> (Elizabeth Douglas-Weikert on China, Ginn, 1973)

As some readers found, however, books are sometimes updated in regard to factual data, but not language.

> Some revision has been done. China's admission to the U.N. in 1971 has been covered but there is an emphasis on violence, terror, and censorship in the P.R.C. There is mention of a "Chinese Communist threat."
> (Loretta Ryan on World History: A Cultural Approach, Ginn, 1973)

The People's Republic of China is still occasionally referred to as "Communist China" or even "Red China" in books published in 1974.

> There are inappropriate uses of word nuances, such as the repeated use of the word "forced" (p. 75). The effect of constantly referring to the Chinese in the People's Republic of China as "Communists" is also dubious....Everyone I have met in China would officially indicate a pride in being...from a Communist country. Many official statements make specific references to the goal of China as Communism. However, the Chinese in common situations do not refer to themselves as Communists, because there are relatively few full-fledged members of the Communist Party. Therefore the indiscriminate use of the word "Communist" to refer to everything and everyone in China today tends to suggest a negative tone in spite of the fact that the word itself is a very proud label in that country. We remember how the Chinese liaison office in Washington D.C. objects to the use of the term "Communist China" in the Western world when the People's Republic of China is mentioned. We also should keep in mind that even the Chinese themselves do not consider that they have achieved Communism, they only claim that they are on their way to socialism or to a socialist country. For examples of this usage in the book, please see page 76, 77, etc.
> (Kai-yu Hsu on Regions of Our World: China, Oxford, 1972)

Some textbooks also use the word "regime" instead of "government." References to "a Communist challenge," or "efforts to halt the spread of Communism" are also used. In addition, words such as "brainwashing," "thought control," and "totalitarian dictatorship" appear.

"Communist China"	29
"Red China"	12
"Mainland China"	3
"totalitarian government"	4
"Communist regime"	1
"Mao's dictatorship	4
"propaganda"	4
"struggle for men's minds"	2

"Communist liberation makes slaves of the liberated" 1

"indoctrination" 1

"brutal domestic policies" of the P.R.C. 1

"Communists seized power in China" 3

"Communist takeover in China" 1

"easy promises of the Communists" 3

"Communist threat" 6

"Communist challenge" 1

"China--Human Ant Hill" 2

"drab, regimented society of China" 1

"brainwashing of the Chinese people" 2

"thought control" practiced in China 1

"Communist aggression towards Southeast Asia" 7

"danger of Asian countries falling victim to a newer, more ruthless imperialism" 1

"the loss of Mainland China to the Communists"

"efforts to halt the spread of Communists" 1

"China stands poised ready to plunge once again into India's territory" 1

"ruthless Communists" 2

"North Vietnamese are invaders"; "U.S. troops are friends" 1

"self interest masked in ideological motives" 1

"Free World" 1

"Communist China swallowing up Tibet" 3

"the strong and unfriendly Soviet Union" 1

"the brutal power of the dictatorial government" of the U.S.S.R. 1

(Note: Dates of publication for books including all of the above phrases are on record.)

3. Cliché Words

Clichés such as "the Unknown Giant," the "Slumbering Giant," etc. are also used to describe China. These phrases support the erroneous but widely held assumption that China has been static and unchanging for centuries.

"China--the Unknown Giant"	1
"China--the Sleeping Giant"	1
"China is awakening from its long slumber."	1
"China has been unchanged for centuries."	6
"China has fallen behind the European nations."	1
"We should not believe however, that all Chinese are ignorant or stupid. There have always been some who would compare favorably with the best minds of any country."	1

4. Measuring in Western Terms

The intention of the writers of the following statements was obviously to compliment Asian people and places by comparing them to Western counterparts, but the implication, as seen by some readers, is that Asian achievements are noteworthy only insofar as they correspond to similar achievements in Western culture.

"Kalidasa is the Shakespeare of India."	1
"Sun Yat-sen is the George Washington of China."	1
"Saigon is the Paris of the East".	1
"Japan is the Great Britain of Asia."	1

5. Language that Reveals a Europocentric Point of View

Many readers reported the use of Europocentric words such as "Far East" when East Asia is now the preferred usage. The term is only relevant from a European or American perspective. Readers also objected to "Orient," which literally means "the East," and is both imprecise and outdated, and "non-Western," which blurs the distinction between Asian and African cultures. Words like these encourage students to develop a belief in the centrality of their own culture. This tendency is further supported by the use of maps which distort geographical reality by placing the United States squarely in the middle, thereby truncating Asian and reducing it to two inconspicuous areas on the far left and right.

"Far East"	26
"non-Western"	12
"the Orient"; "Oriental civilization"	7
"crowded Oriental lands"	1

6. Value-Laden Language Used to Describe Japan

One problem with the language used to describe Japan is the repeated use of "strange" to describe habits and customs that are merely unfamiliar. The writers' opinions, especially unfounded negative ones, are generally not useful and only serve to prejudice the students before they have a chance to make up their own minds. Words also reinforce some old stereotypes of the Japanese: that they are "crowded," "imitators" and "copiers" of both the West and China, and that they are "hampered by their authoritarian traditions."

"strange baths"	1
"strange musical instruments"	3
"strange foods"	2
"Japan is a workshop nation."	1

Japan "learned quickly," "imitated," "copied" 10

"the cluttered, ugly streets of Japan's major cities" 1

"teeming masses in Tokyo" 2

"modern Japanese are not typically Asian" 1

"The Japanese are generally healthy and dress reasonably well." 1

"The Japanese show a remarkable willingness to obey authority." 8

7. Value-Laden Language Used to Describe the Countries of Southeast Asia

The problems here are similar to those concerning Japan; namely the use of meaningless and condescending phrases like "the friendly, fun-loving Filipinos," and the "happy, gentle" Thais who "like to dance and sing." The language used to describe the colonial relationship is also offensive in places, as for example when the Asian countries are likened to "adolescents wanting more privileges and responsibilities" from "the mother countries."

Philippines:

"our former pupils" 1

"the friendly, fun-loving Filipinos" 1

Burma:

"Burma lies between the massive and hungry countries of India and China." 1

Thailand:

"The Thais are a happy, gentle, law-abiding people who like to dance and sing." 1

Viet Nam:

"The North Vietnamese are invaders." 1

Of North Viet Nam: "It is called the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Of course, many people of North Viet Nam have not been misled by this high-sounding title." 1

8. Value-Laden Language Used to Describe India

The single greatest problem with the language on India is the frequent use of depressing, negative words to describe the traditional aspects of India's culture. The past is seen as "static" and "unchanging" and "an obstacle to India's efforts to make the transition to an up-to-date way of life." There is a particular problem with the use of the term "sacred cow" because in English "sacred" carries the implication of actual worship. Its use in the context of Indians' reverence for the cow creates a severe distortion. Statements about Indians sitting on mats because there are no chairs and eating with their hands because knives and forks are expensive and scarce attest to both ignorance about Indian customs and a cultural arrogance on the part of the writer.

"In the teeming cities, thousands live on the streets and millions are unemployed." 1

"Thousands of people jammed together in makeshift huts and shops." 1

"ancient city buses with their fenders flapping, bulging with people" 1

"India is still in the grip of tradition." 5

"Indian civilization has been static." 2

"sacred cow" 14

"India is making the transition from a primitive society to a modern, industrial one." 1

Indian music "may seem just ugly or strange to Americans." 6

On the Harappan civilization: "their architecture was neither as skillful nor as interesting as the Sumerians." 1

"This family is squatting on mats since there are no chairs." 1

"since knives and forks are scarce and expensive" (they eat with their hands) 1

"India is a new country." 4

9. Other Value-Laden and Ethnocentric Expressions

"pagan natives" 2

"natives" 7

"huts" 10

"dirt floors covered with filth" 4

"primitive mud huts" 2

"grinding poverty" 3

"cheap labor" 1

"witch doctor" 1

"mother country" (speaking of the colonial power) 1

"savages" 1

"jungle people" 1

"the hungry world" 1

"They need to turn off the flood of babies." 1

Pluralism is described as "a crazy quilt." 1

Finally, several readers noted that textbook tone is not only patronizing toward Asia but toward American students as well:

> As a final comment may I just say that all these texts in different ways seem to have an intensely patronizing tone towards their readers. This is separate of course from the problem of their attitudes towards the Chinese; but I do not see how a child can look up to an utterly different culture if at the same time he is being talked down to.
> (Jonathan Spence on *Exploring the Non-Western World*, Globe, 1971)

VII. SEXISM--"MAN THE TOOLMAKER REVISITED" (Based on 49 texts)

Publishers have been increasingly aware of the need to respond to changing attitudes towards sex stereotyping and sexist attitudes and expressions in texts. A number of studies and directives have helped to bring about this change. The Ford Foundation supported study of "Sex Role Stereotyping in the Schools," the Kalamazoo study of reading textbooks, and the McGraw-Hill directives to textbook editors and writers are examples. Many reviewers mentioned that the texts with Asian content they were evaluating seemed to be making a conscious effort to present women and their accomplishments in a new, more positive manner. However, 49 reports pointed out instances of sexist material, ranging from simple and blatantly offensive terms to far more subtle treatment of sexual roles.

> I don't want to make a big deal about the use of "man" when "mankind" is meant, but several times they use "man" in a more particular sense and it is very jarring and inappropriate. For example: (in reference to Mohenjo-Daro) "Many men today are interested in learning about the past....Some men dug where Dravidian cities used to be.... These men keep looking for things that will tell more about the Dravidians who lived 5,000 years ago." (p. 36) This strikes me as enforcing the notion that there are no women archaeologists.
> (Nancy Lanoue on The Indian Subcontinent, Allyn & Bacon, 1971)

Another reviewer quoted a passage from an elementary text on Japan that is a classic example of an attempt to present traditional, rigid sex roles to the minds of young readers:

> Sexist, yes!! "What kinds of work do fathers do? Fathers take care of sick people. Fathers build houses. Fathers make automobiles. Fathers fly airplanes. Fathers write stories. What else do fathers do? Fathers do many kinds of work. Look at these fathers. Each of these fathers does work he likes. Each of these fathers does his work well. Mothers all over the world take care of their children. Mothers cook meals and keep house. Mothers may also work outside the home. Some are teachers. Some are nurses. What other kinds of work do mothers do?" (pp.72-74)
> (Tin-Mala on Families Around the World, Fideler, 1970)

Other more subtle problems were raised by other reviewers. Certain treatments of Asian societies were carefully structured to imply that women had little or no important role in shaping or building the particular society. India was misrepresented in this way several times, with a grudging nod to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi the only concession to the role of women in modern India. Some texts did discuss the role of women in India, but chose to present everything in lurid and melodramatic terms. One reviewer wrote:

> No mention at all of the accomplishments of women except those of Indira. No mention of increased educational opportunities; very objectionable treatment of "sati" and the Indian mother-in-law and of the life pattern of women in general. Family life is described as "a very complex game." A woman starts married life as "a household drudge," becomes "a tyrant," and as an old widow "her place is that of the living dead." (pp. 24-28 passim) Furthermore, in photos of Indian women working in factories and getting off an airplane he refers to them as "girls."
> (David Dell on India, Ginn, 1968)

Another text was criticized for its almost total neglect of women as characters in case studies; the reviewer's incisive analysis of the women who appear in this book reveals the male-centered outlook of the authors:

> I find it difficult...to believe that in a series named after a woman who has achieved much herself, sexism can be so rife. All the case studies center around boys and men.
>
> The only woman who is given any attention at all is Ma'Maz'nah; about 4 pages are devoted to "her day." Later, she is also part of an inane discussion of voting. Following a narrative description of the Alliance Party, which gives no indication at all that Ma'Maz'nah knows anything about it, she says, "I think it is a good party, and I am going to vote for them." Another narrative paragraph follows:
>
> "Ma'Maz'nah's friend thought it would be wise to vote for the party represented by the sheaf of rice. It was rice that fed her family. Another neighbor decided to vote for the party represented by the crescent and star. She thought this was a good symbol because it stood for her religion."
> (Lenore Burckel on People in Change: South Asia,
> Addison Wesley, 1975, p.57)

A final difficulty that some reviewers pointed out is comparing the role of women in Asia with that of women in the West. Some textbook authors make the assumption that women in Western societies have a much higher and more active status than their Asian counterparts. One thoughtful and well-intentioned text (Man and Woman in Asia) succumbed to this temptation to picture Asian women as progressing rapidly towards a point already reached in the West:

> The domination-submission pattern of the traditional Asian marriage is slowly changing. Man and wife are beginning to move towards roles of equal status with the consequences that married life now includes an element of companionship such as has been known and idealized in much of the West.
> (Darlene Fisher on Man and Woman in Asia,
> Addison Wesley, 1969)

Comparisons like this can be misleading, steering the student away from the numerous positive aspects of the role of women in Asian societies from early history to the present. Surely the changing role of Asian women can be intelligently presented without making facile comparisons that will obscure the topic rather than shed light upon it.

VIII. FORMAT AND ILLUSTRATIONS (Based on 119 reports)

Format and illustrations are an important element of any text. They can detract from, serve as mere decoration for, or extend and enhance the written material.

In this study the content of illustrations was often found to project and reinforce stereotypes about various Asian societies. In response to the question, "Do the pictures project stereotypes?" over half, 55 per cent (of 152 replies)* replied "yes." One text was so blatant in its presentation of India that it moved the reviewer, who is an Indian national, to a trenchant outburst:

> How would people like it if we did an introduction to America consisting exclusively of the Mafia, Viet Nam policies and marches, ghettos, the divorce rate, Playboy Clubs, race riots, violence to nature, Watergate and the CIA, with only a mention of Abraham Lincoln and the "civilizing" influence of Oriental spiritual movements? India is seen in these texts as only a troubled land--"a billion hands at work," border tensions, the poor farmer, etc. And Textbook A is heavy on how foreign agencies like WHO, CARE, etc. are flocking (sic) to India to solve her problems. There is nothing at all on local solutions, traditional assets, and the daily presence of arts, ideas, and natural beauty--all three of which are entirely absent from the books either in illustrations or in text.
>
> Once it used to be all the other way: India was full of philosophies, temples, mythologies, and religious insights as well as snake charmers, elephants, maharajas, and nothing at all on contemporary economic social problems. The pendulum has swung to the other false extreme--almost vengefully.
> (A. K. Ramanujan on Eleven Nations, Ginn, 1972)

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*number of replies dealing with stereotypes.

Many reviewers found that India was particularly susceptible to distorted treatment through constant repetition of photographic cliches. No textbook on India seems capable of resisting the temptation to include a picture of a cow in the middle of the street; the only image that appears as frequently as this one is, of course, the Taj Mahal. Other images that are often projected include poverty (both rural and urban), overcrowding, begging, "primitive" farming methods, and, as a shining alternative to all these, burgeoning modern technology. The emphatic sameness of these images of India led one scholar to offer a whimsical suggestion that is actually a good indication of what is missing. Speaking of the types of Indians that appear in the photographs, he said they were:

> The usual groups--farmers, industrialists, and beggars. I would sometime like to see a picture of a group of sophisticated businessmen in Delhi sipping cocktails. (Edward Dimock on India-Pakistan, Cambridge, 1972)

The images of Japan that some readers found are equally predictable. Japan is pictorialized through delicate women in kimonos, Mt. Fuji, the tea ceremony and origami ("charming but minor arts," one reviewer calls them), Japanese gardens, and shrines. These pictures are usually juxtaposed with those showing enormous factories, traffic jams in Tokyo, student riots, baseball, subway trains, and textile mills. There seems to be no middle ground. The two comments below are typical:

> There are no art objects, historical paintings, or documents. Approximately seven illustrations deal with sporting events. Three show popular singers. Eight depict school life, including two of student demonstrations. One shows a home scene. Seven touch on rural life. One represents a feudal procession (part of a festival). One shows a class in flower arrangement, one a tea ceremony. The book contains two tables (p. 186), both representing how a pair of baseball players hit the ball. (Leon Zolbrod on We the Japanese, Praeger, 1974)

> Yes, some "quaint Asian scenes" as the "kimono-clad woman with Japanese umbrella" on p. 2, the view of Mt. Fuji through a torii on page 5, the geisha with samisen on page 10. Japan is symbolized as a kimonoed girl on page 44. Aggressive behavior is shown in Japanese soldiers charging with fixed bayonets (in contrast to the American soldiers who are shown giving chocolate to Japanese children). Lots of modern technology, etc.
> (Roland Lange on Japan, MacMillan, 1969)

India and Japan are most often represented by stock images but other Asian countries are also misrepresented. The reader of a book on Indonesia noted an illustration that was:

> ...downright offensive, portraying the Indonesian as a Japanese-type coolie-caricature, with exaggerated slanted eyes and wearing geta, or clogs, which are not even used in Indonesia.
> (Reader comment on Indonesia, Ginn, 1967, p. 83)

Another instance where a hand-drawn illustration presents crude and obvious racial stereotypes was mentioned by one reader:

> The drawings are offensive and depict stereotypes. Such is the case on page 36, which compares population in the U.S.A., U.S.S.R., India, and Japan. The Japanese have slanted eyes in the drawing and the Russians look fat. Most of the Indian men are wearing turbans. The faces of the Russians are also red!
> (Sandy Cheiten on India, American, 1971)

Finally, a book on India was criticized for using several cartoons to ridicule and caricature Asians:

> On page 4 a Caucasian-looking medical doctor is shown bent over a man labelled "India" and the doctor is listening to the sick man's heart with a stethoscope. Pathetic and sad-looking Indians are crouched around watching.
>
> On page 47, two roosters, labelled "India" and "Pakistan" fight, while a gigantic, smirking Mao rests his arms on the Himalayas, amid dark clouds, and holds a cooking pot, as if ready

> to cook and gobble one or both of the quarrelsome roosters.
> (Robert Swacker on India and the World Today, Laidlaw, 1966)

Another question asked of readers was: "Are different groups within a society portrayed?" Well over half (55 per cent out of 147 replies)* said "no." This is a singularly important failing when one is dealing with a society like India or China in which both racial and cultural diversity must be dealt with if the student is to have an accurate picture. The reviewer of a book on China lamented this failure: "Reading the text or looking at the pictures, the reader would have no idea of the rich ethnic differences within the national boundaries. Sad too, because this lesson is an important one for Americans." (David Weitzman on The Story of China, McCormick-Mathers, 1968) Other texts projected very limited impressions of a country by showing only one economic class in the photographs; this was a frequent problem in the treatment of Japan. For example:

> Most of the photographs represent a bland middle class (of the 1950's). No one is very stylish. Children (boys) have shaved heads....The Emperor looks about 40 years old. One picture of the Emperor is shown (page 88 this time), to illustrate the political problem he is faced with. No caption is given, but on the left of the Emperor's picture there is a photo of Russian soldiers marching with guns, and on the right there is a large flag of the U.S. flying over a parade of peaceful Americans.
> (Harold Wright on How People Live in Japan, Benefic, 1973)

Another reviewer commented on the tendency to present Japan as a totally neat and orderly country:

---

*number of replies dealing with pluralism in illustrations.

> The face of Japan, as it appears in this book, is very well scrubbed. There are pictures of farmers, but they don't look very muddy.
> (Royall Tyler on The Story of Japan, McCormick-Mathers, 1971)

Technical Quality

It is reasonable to assume that selectors of texts and students themselves may form their first impression of a text by glancing at the layout and illustrations. Does the text survive what is called the "flip test"? The initial reaction to a text may affect whether or not a text is selected and may, in fact, affect the student's receptivity to the subject matter. The reactions of the evaluators indicated that there is a new awareness of presenting textbook information in an attractive, meaningful format.

Reviewers were asked whether they felt that the text in question was initially appealing to the eye, whether it invited the student to read on. Exactly 50 per cent (out of the 168 replies received to this question) said "yes." One scholar who replied positively gave his reasons:

> Obviously a textbook, but a most attractive one. Blue cover with well chosen and reproduced photos of traditional and modern China and Japan. Clear, well-spaced type, wide margins, profusely illustrated with good quality color, black and white, half-tone photos, charts, maps. It has the feel of a photo-essay--asks to be read.
> (S. E. Solberg on People in Change: East Asia, Addison Wesley, 1975)

Of those who answered "no," on the other hand, many made the point that books often announce condescendingly that they are for students just by the poverty of their design; these readers wondered why a distinction in quality of format should be made between books for students and those for adults.

As one reader commented:

> Another thing that marks this work as a textbook is the fact that each page is divided into two columns of type, complete with large topic headings every few paragraphs such as "POSTWAR DECISIONS" and "A MAJOR ISSUE" on page 45. Such devices drive bright students to tears and away from school because they are a form of condescension. Most primary and secondary texts are boring because the adults who write them think that the children who read them are stupid. They are not. They are merely lacking in much of the information which they need. As things stand, most textbooks are an insult to the intelligence of the poor children who have to read them. This is why children are put off by a book the moment they recognize it as a textbook, because to them a textbook is a boring book.
> (Roland Lange on Japan-Ally in the Far East, Laidlaw, 1967)

A poorly conceived cover or frontispiece can do a great deal of harm by starting the reader out on a negative or neutral note. Some otherwise carefully done texts seem to have been very carelessly handled in terms of the cover. Drab, colorless photographs are mentioned by some reviewers as creating very negative initial impressions. One scholar noted a collage of photos on the cover of a text on comparative cultures that presented India as "dreary, hungry, crowded, hard-working." (A. K. Ramunujan on Eleven Nations, Ginn, 1972)

Another problem which also arose with some covers is the use of a carelessly-reproduced map that ends up actually giving incorrect information. One text on Japan with a confusing and unattractive color scheme for the map on its cover is an example of this. The reviewer noted, "The cover illustration conveys the impression that Japan is a U.S. possession. It also conveys the impression that Okinawa is not part of Japan." (Roland Lange on Japan-Ally in the Far East, Laidlaw, 1967)

One of the major questions about the illustrations was, "If color reproduction is used, is the quality good? What about black and white?" The results, based on 178 replies, were as follows:

excellent	12%
good	41%
fair	29%
poor	18%

The most common complaint was that color photographs were extremely "fuzzy" in quality, often obscuring or distorting the subject. In black and white photos, the most frequent problem was the use of small, very dark pictures that were almost impossible to make out.

A reviewer of a book on Afghanistan gave a good example of how an excellent subject for a cover photo can be marred by poor color reproduction:

> A word about the cover illustrations. The choice of the subject matter for the cover photo is rather good; the shrine mosque of Mazari Sharif is colorful and a fine example of eastern Islamic architecture. However, the color reproduction hardly does justice to the structure both as regards the angle from which the building is shown and the drab, overcast skies and tile colors. Vague blues and greys rather than vibrant brightness is the effect.
> (Eden Naby on The Story of Afghanistan, McCormick-Mathers, 1965)

On the positive side, one text on Buddhism was praised for its careful use of illustration to improve the text:

> The use of color greatly enhances the book's appeal. In the Chinese section the first-class bamboo and calligraphy pictures on page 15 and the landscape on page 22 are excellent examples of how pictures can strengthen the text and how students can be introduced to great art unobtrusively.
> (Kenneth Morgan on Buddhism, Addison Wesley, 1969)

Guidelines for Content and Technical Quality

The reviewer of a book on East Asia that used format and illustrations successfully offered praise that should serve as a model for the future:

> This book is an example of a factual, imaginative, and carefully thought out use of pictures, maps, and charts. The pictures not only complement the text, they enhance and extend the text and are used as the occasion for more statements, of a higher generality, about the subject under discussion, than is allowed by the specific narrative structure of the text.
> (S. E. Solberg on People in Change: East Asia, Addison Wesley, 1975)

The thoughtful and skillful arrangement of illustrations can greatly improve a text, especially if the photographs are clearly reproduced. There is simply no excuse for substandard quality in photo reproduction (47 per cent of the texts reviewed were rated "fair" or "poor" in this respect). Sharp and striking photographs are readily available for all Asian countries.

Finally, the primary goal of any textbook on Asia should be to introduce American schoolchildren to other human beings. Pictures can accomplish this as perhaps no other medium can. Two negative comments, the first from an Indian scholar and the second from a Chinese one, offer a possible guideline for future authors:

> The worst feature of both texts, apart from the ceaseless song of "the white man's burden" and "India's teeming millions," is the absence of any striking, vivid, human detail: the absence of any native [form of] expression--not a song, story, proverb, recipe, joke; not a closeup of a face; no textiles, interiors, or houses--[and] I don't mean silks, temples, and palaces.
> (A. K. Ramanujan on Exploring the Non-Western World, Globe, 1971, and Eleven Nations, Ginn, 1972)

> There isn't one picture in the book that says I am a Human Being.
> (David Weitzman on The Story of China, McCormick-Mathers, 1968)

IX. OVERALL RATINGS (Based on 261 texts)

Readers were asked to give overall ratings of the books they reviewed according to the following scale:

1. Excellent text, should be highly recommended
2. Can be used, but has some problems
3. Should not be used without revisions
4. Unacceptable

Out of 261 titles, 63 received #1 or #2 ratings indicating that they were suitable for use. Readers reported that 108 books should not be used without revision (rating #3), although they indicated that they wished to give a somewhat higher evaluation to 30 of this number by suggesting that these were especially worth revising. "Unacceptable" (#4) ratings were given to 80 texts. On any given topic and region at a specific grade level, there were judged to be at most 4 usable titles. Most of the material on Asia judged to be suitable is produced for the high school level.

Of 16 elementary books given "suitable" ratings, only one series of basic texts received consistently good ratings. Twelve books on the junior high level were seen as usable by the readers. The list included only 2 basic texts or units and 10 regional paperbacks. There were 35 high school books judged to be suitable for use. These included 4 world history texts, 3 supplementary anthologies of world history readings, 2 anthologies of Asian readings, 11 regional surveys, and 15 paperbacks on specific Asian topics, such as painting and religion.

Since they are based on specific criteria, are inevitably subjective, and are difficult to make consistent, numerical ratings are inadequate to convey complete information about individual books. Asia Society staff have used reader comments to prepare paragraph annotations on outstanding books and has made listings of the source readings found in texts and supplementary materials. These may be obtained from the Educational Resources/Asian Literature Program.

X. QUALIFICATIONS OF AUTHORS AND CONSULTANTS (Based on 306 texts)

For the past 15 years the Asian Literature Program of The Asia Society has placed a major emphasis on encouraging scholars to communicate to a wider audience through writing, translations, lectures, broadcasts, and publications. With the merger of the Education and Asian Literature Programs in the fall of 1973, one of the Society's objectives was to extend scholarly communication to the elementary and secondary school level, directly and indirectly, in order to promote greater authenticity and accuracy in basic learning materials. In general it was expected that if writers and publishers drew on scholarly sources, knowledge would undoubtedly be transmitted to students. This text evaluation has revealed how greatly the production of learning materials needs the direct participation of scholars as authors or consultants. At a minimum, specialists should be asked by publishers to review manuscripts before they become locked into galley, page proofs, or public print.

Perhaps one of the most significant and meaningful results of the process of this evaluation has been to raise consciousness among scholars about the need for an improved method of transmitting information to writers of elementary and secondary school books. As Daniel Lev of the University of Washington wrote, "I was shocked." An Indian national said, "I was amazed...." McKim Marriott of the University of Chicago, however, struck at the heart of the matter: the failure of our system for disseminating knowledge. In his analysis of the treatment of caste in textbooks he stated:

> This negative finding is distressing enough in itself, but is all the more regrettable for what it says of our system for transmitting scholarly knowledge. After a century of Indian censuses and ethnologies, and after a generation of modern anthropological and sociological research and publication by a hundred scholars of Indian caste, only four of these twenty-seven texts show evidence of more than the remotest acquaintance with any results of such research. Eighty-five per cent of the authors and consultants seem to conceive their jobs as mainly the rephrasing of ancient textbook conceptions, however unverified. Several--those cursed by a little naive personal experience of India--go one step backward and present misunderstood anecdotes in what should be the place of well-researched information. Others go two steps backward to fabricate fantasies to fill in for their ignorance of even the most obvious scholarly references.

The fact that there could be and needs to be a more effective dissemination of knowledge about Asia does not imply that resources or scholars have not been consulted at all. Readers reported 24 per cent (74 out of 306 texts) gave information specifying that the author or consultants had some Asian background. It is important to note, however, that no direct correlation has been found between overall ratings and whether or not a text had an author or consultant with Asian background. Some reviewers noted that not all Asian experience qualifies an author to take on the responsibility of introducing an Asian culture to American students. At times an author had some personal experience in an Asian country--but not the one about which he or she is writing:

> The author has some experience in depth in Burma but is not familiar with Indonesian life from much direct experience. He knows the literature, but lacks the human perspective which would make him give more or less prominence to a variety of topics.
> (Reader comment on Indonesia, Ginn, 1967)

In looking at the kinds of Asian expertise represented by the authors, it is also clear that social scientists dominate to the virtual exclusion of experts in the humanities. Those who have gained recognition in transmitting Asian experience and values through translations are not participating either directly or indirectly in the formulation of texts.

Other texts provided only minimal information on the author, leading one reader to comment:

> There is scant biographical information about the author. In the preface we learn that he "lived, taught and married in Canton." Nonetheless, the book's text tells much about the author's orientation. Well-grounded in the "old" China, he has a debilitating distance from China since 1949. The People's Republic of China is presented in a shallow manner.
> (Elizabeth Douglas-Weikert on China, Ginn, 1973)

Since the Association for Asian Studies is an important professional organization for helping to implement some of the recommendations for action to be taken as a result of this evaluation, authors credited with Asian expertise in the available biographical information were checked for membership in the Association for Asian Studies. Out of the total sample of 306 texts, only 74 had author/consultants credited with Asian expertise. Of these supposedly knowledgeable author/consultants, who numbered 67, only 33 were members of the AAS, which has a membership of over 5,000. This minimal involvement (less than one per cent) of the AAS membership in school texts on Asia does not begin to reflect the concern expressed by the formation of the AAS Committee on Elementary and Secondary Education some 15 years ago. The AAS constitutes a rich resource which publishers seem to have failed to utilize.

XI. CONCLUDING REMARKS ON FINDINGS

The collators of this report have concluded that the texts do not come close to reflecting what thoughtful educators have been recommending for years for teaching about other cultures: a recognition of lifestyles, scales of value, modes of thinking, and aspirations other than those dominating American life today; a presentation of Asia within the Asian cultural context; and the inclusion of materials which foster human empathy, respect, and appreciation for other peoples. As four scholars stated:

> My overall reaction to this task is one of depression--we really do not have very good high school materials on China. There is room for a great deal of experimentation. Who is going to get busy to produce better teaching materials? If we had better ones, would the schools use them? Perhaps we should recruit some good graduate student-teacher types (some of our graduate students have had high school teaching experience) and try to use the colleges as a base for producing some new materials. That is what the Episodes in Social Inquiry Series has done, with support from the National Science Foundation. Perhaps we could hit NEH for some funds to do some humanistically oriented textbooks as well.
> (F. W. Mote, Princeton University)

> If I had to make one general comment about the texts, I would express my disappointment at the lack of any use of Asian humanities material, so much of which is available in English, largely through the magnificent endeavors of The Asia Society's Asian Literature Program. This lack is, in my judgment, a serious failing of all five texts, although Donald Swearer's The Third World: Southeast Asia makes a stab in the right direction. The absence of bibliographies, reading lists, suggested readings in four of the five texts is inexcusable, I feel.
> (John M. Echols, Cornell University)

> A general comment seems to be in order. Not having read pre-university texts recently, I was shocked by the material I read. As it happens, I had no indication of the grade levels for which these texts were intended. But whatever the grade level, they all suffer serious faults from any perspective that takes Southeast Asia seriously as a region filled with real and living cultures and human beings. Surely there must be texts better than these. If not, someone ought to be commissioned to write one.
> (Daniel S. Lev, University of Washington)
>
> It's clear that someone in the field of Asian religions should be writing material for the secondary schools on Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and the religions of China. I've known that for years, but have been too busy with other projects to give it any thought.
> (Kenneth W. Morgan, Professor Emeritus, Colgate University)

If the basic texts are characteristic of social studies curricula across the country, then serious questions should be raised about the effectiveness of the entire post-World War II movement for "international" education or "global" studies.

However, accepting the approach and the content now presented in textbooks, the readers' reports highlight the following areas to which publishers and textbook writers should be alerted and in which they should be encouraged to improve:

All textbooks

- Imbalance between Asian and Western history
- Neglect of tradition and cultural continuities
- Portrayal of Asian history as "stagnant" before Western involvement
- "Catching up to the West" mentality
- One-sided treatment of colonialism--overemphasis on foreign assistance
- Imposing Western questions, terms, and frames of reference on Asia
- Measuring worth by American technological, political, economic, or social points of view
- Failure to give complete information about standards of measurement used (e.g. buying power of the rupee)

Emphasis on poverty and the lack of electricity, cars, and bathtubs, without complementary discussions of American problems or Asian strengths.
Failure to examine alternative ways of measuring the worth of a society
Presentation of Asians as "strange," "childlike," "robot-like," and "little"
Neglect of pluralism in Asian societies
Overemphasis on "important" people
Superficial or negative treatment of Asian cultures
Failure to use authentic Asian humanistic/human interest sources
Ethnocentric end-of-chapter questions and teacher's guides
Incomprehensible abstraction levels
Inaccurate or ethnocentric illustrations and captions
Inaccurate, incomprehensible pronunciation guides
Use of out-of-date material
Making definitve statements instead of raising questions
Offensive style and tone (sexist or ethnocentric)
Quoting or abridging without proper credits or permission
Discrepancies between the teacher's guides and texts

Textbooks on India

Inaccurate treatment of Aryans and Dravidians
Distortions of Hinduism, sacred cattle, karma, jati and varna (caste)
Neglect of dharma and popular and classical literary traditions (Ramayana and Mahabharata, village plays, etc.)
Overemphasis on poverty
Preoccupation with lack of political unity
Lack of attention to pluralism within Indian society, especially Muslim culture

Textbooks on Japan

Superficial treatment of Shinto
Inaccurate emphasis on rigid social stratification, poverty, illiteracy, and lack of change in Tokugawa Japan
Distorted coverage of samurai, tea ceremony, Buddhism, and Zen
Overemphasis on Perry, MacArthur, and "imitation" of the West
Neglect of indigenous democratic and social movements in the 1920's
Neglect of cultural problems and concerns in contemporary period.
Overemphasis on problems arising out of the technological development of Japan
Negative approach to Japanese houses --"too small," "no chairs"
Overemphasis on crowding

Textbooks on China

Superficial treatment of Taoism and Confucianism
Overemphasis on "stagnation" before the 20th century
Inaccurate emphasis on economic poverty and problems
Preoccupation with political and social restrictions without examining alternative interpretations such as the "serve the people" spirit
Outdated treatment of United States relations with the People's Republic of China

Textbooks on Southeast Asia

Use of pejorative "Hinayana" instead of the term "Theravada" Buddhism, which is preferred by such Buddhists themselves
Neglect of indigenous history
Overemphasis on Indian, Chinese, and Western influence
Dated treatment of U.S. military presence
Treatment of Viet Nam--overemphasis on U.S. involvement, neglect of Vietnamese people
Overemphasis on diversity

XII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

There have been a number of dissertations and studies dealing with the treatment of Asia in textbooks, including one as early as 1917; however, no study seems to have been followed with specific action, nor is it clear that they have had any impact on the publishing industry. A. Elgin Heinz, author of a 1965 report, described his experience and made the following suggestions:

> My 1965-66 report was a part of an NDEA project and was filed in the Office of Education. I can't remember whether copies went to the publishers or not. The report was listed, along with other things we produced, on a mailing list that went out to teachers and school districts that had indicated an interest in Asian studies materials. I think about 100 copies were distributed.
>
> In your project, I would urge that you have a budget item to mail copies of your report to the publishers of all the books reviewed and to the textbook committees of all state departments of education. Your project handbook of common errors should go to all textbook publishers and be widely advertised in Social Education, etc. as available to any textbook review committee. (Communication from A. Elgin Heinz, January 15, 1975)

There are many long-range possibilities for action growing out of this evaluation. The following recommendations are for immediate action.

Dissemination of Findings to the General Public

It is recommended that feature stories and articles be prepared for the general public. These would be written by the Asia Society staff, commentators, journalists, and concerned public figures.

Dissemination of Findings to Teachers, Publishers, Writers, Textbook Selection Committees, State Education Departments, Teacher Training Programs, and Government Agencies

A 4,000-word summary of the findings, based on this report, was published in The Asia Society's September/October 1975 ASIA Bulletin in an overrun of 5,000 copies, which is being distributed through direct mailings and national meetings of professional organizations, including the National Council of Social Studies Teachers and The Council of State Social Studies Supervisors. It will be followed by reproduction of 500 photocopies of this report and by the publication in 10,000 copies of a distillation of the report. An annotated listing of books suitable for use at each level will be printed separately, updated as revisions and new materials appear, and made available with both the condensation and the full report.

Action With Publishers

The individual reports on the 306 texts published by 37 publishers will be used to work directly with publishers to improve existing texts in future editions and prepare new materials on Asia. Publishers may also be reached through Publishers' Weekly and the Library Journal.

Dissemination Through Association for Asian Studies

To encourage specialists to become concerned about the treatment of Asia in elementary and secondary school materials was a major objective of this study. Their involvement has already been accomplished in part by their participation as reader-evaluators, but it will be enlisted further through panels, seminars, and workshops organized for national and regional scholarly meetings, including a panel for the 1976 national meeting of the

Association for Asian Studies. These panels will focus on the need for more effective dissemination of knowledge about Asia and on recruiting scholars for direct involvement with basic learning materials for students.

> "I certainly agree with you that scholars ought to be much more willing to consult with publishers about high school texts, and that publishers should be willing to demand some help. I guess the logic of the matter really dictates that more scholars should be willing to write high school texts. Is it possible that The Asia Society might eventually sponsor such writing?" (Daniel Lev)

Articles will be prepared for the AAS Professional Review and for Focus, which is also distributed to teachers.

Working Target Papers

Working papers based on the "problem topics" with examples of common inaccuracies and distorted assumptions will be prepared by scholars and directed to publishers and teachers. These will include bibliographies of reliable source materials.

Dissemination of Evaluation Guidelines

In addition to the dissemination of the findings of this evaluation of existing social studies texts, it is essential that there be a continuing process of evaluation as new books appear. Teachers, educators in teachers' colleges, administrators, textbook selection committees, departments of education--all those concerned with what goes into the classrooms--should have an instrument to help them assess materials. As has been mentioned elsewhere, the readers found the process of evaluating as illuminating as the findings. David Weitzman, an experienced teacher in the Oakland schools and a writer of Asian materials, reflected what most evaluators said about the guidelines when he said, "It's the best thing of its kind that I've ever seen. It looks like a lot of work, but it makes reviewing the book much easier, much less hit and miss, much less subjective. I imagine that it will make your job of quantifying the results much easier too." It is recommended that these guidelines be refined and condensed and be made available so that others concerned with selecting materials may become their own evaluators.

Further Studies

The results of the Asia Society evaluation suggest that further studies of who actually writes books would be useful. The qualifications of the people responsible for educational materials should be examined. Consultation with some editors and writers indicates that some texts are written largely by professional writers even though an educator's name and prestigious position might appear on the title pages. It would be important in any future study of this subject to interview all parties concerned--publishers, editors, authors and scholar-consultants--on their experiences in order fully to understand and improve the process of developing materials for students.

There is some evidence that publishers have made an effort to involve specialists in reading, the social sciences, school administration, and teaching in the preparation of textbooks. The time has come for Asian specialists to have an opportunity to join in this collaboration.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF BOOKS REVIEWED

Asterisked Books

An interesting publishing practice observed in the course of the study was that of excerpting chapters from larger hardback or paperback texts, and presenting them as small, innovative looking paperbacks. These texts were not always reviewed completely since information on their content can be obtained from consulting reports on the related texts. In one case an earlier version of a hardback book which is still on sale in competition with newer editions is also asterisked.

Publisher	Asterisked Books	Related Text
Allyn & Bacon	Southeast Asia	The Afro-Asian World
Cambridge	The Age of Emperors	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Changes in Asian Society	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Colonialism	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Foreign Relations	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Industrial Change	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Nationalism	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Revolution and Reform	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Three Golden Ages	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Where East Meets West	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Cambridge	Women of Asia	Patterns of Civilization: Asia
Follett	A Culture In Transition: China	Cultures In Transition
Follett	A Culture In Transition: Japan	Cultures In Transition
Ginn	Asia	Eurasia
Houghton Mifflin	The Artistic Imagination	The Human Experience
Houghton Mifflin	Cities Through Time	The Human Experience
Houghton Mifflin	Communicating Across Time and Space	The Human Experience

Houghton Mifflin	Economics of Survival	The Human Experience
Houghton Mifflin	Human Origins	The Human Experience
Houghton Mifflin	Rules, Rights, and Revolution	The Human Experience
Houghton Mifflin	Scientific Spirit	The Human Experience
Houghton Mifflin	The World of The Family	The Human Experience
MacMillan	The Ways of Man in China	The Ways of Man: An Introduction to Many Cultures
Noble & Noble	Culture	People & Culture
Noble & Noble	Early People	People & The Land
Noble & Noble	East Asia: China & Japan	People & Culture
Noble & Noble	South Asia: India	People & Culture
Rand McNally	Monsoon Asia	Geography & World Affairs
Sadlier	The People of East Asia	The People of Africa & Asia
Sadlier	The People of South Asia	The People of Africa & Asia
Sadlier	The People of the Ocean World	The People of Africa & Asia
Silver Burdett	Man and His World	This Is Our World
Silver Burdett	East Asia	The Human Achievement
Silver Burdett	India and Southeast Asia	The Human Achievement

ADDISON WESLEY PUBLISHING CO., INC.
Reading, Massachusetts 01867
(During the course of the project, Addison Wesley absorbed Field Educational Publications, Inc.)

The Amherst Project Units in American History

1. Hiroshima 1970
    General Editors:
    R. Brown
    V. Halsey

2. Korea 1970
    General Editors:
    R. Brown
    V. Halsey

Asian Studies Inquiry Program

3. Buddhism 1969
    Everett B. Johnson, Jr.

4. China and the United States 1969
    David L. Weitzman

5. Chinese Painting 1969
    David L. Weitzman

6. Chinese Popular Fiction 1969
    David L. Weitzman

7. Class and Caste in Village India 1969
    A. Jeff Tudisco

8. Confucianism and Taoism 1969
    A. Jeff Tudisco

9. Cultural Patterns in Asian Life 1969
    Everett B. Johnson, Jr.

10. East Meets West 1969
    David L. Weitzman

11. Food and Survival in Asia 1969
    Robin J. McKeown

12. Gandhi 1969
    Daniel R. Birch
    D. Ian Allen

13. Life in Communist China 1969
    Daniel R. Birch

ADDISON WESLEY (cont)

Asian Studies Inquiry Program (cont)

14.	Man and His Environment in Asia Chistopher L. Salter	1969
15.	Man and Woman in Asia Robin J. McKeown	1969
16.	Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution David L. Weitzman	1969
17.	Modernization in Japan Robin J. McKeown	1969

Field Social Studies Program

18.	Human Adventure Frank J. Cappelluti	1970, 1972
19.	People, Places, Products Ruth H. Grossman John M. Michaelis	1970, 1972
20.	Regions Around the World Phillip Bacon	1970, 1972
21.	Working, Playing, Learning Ruth H. Grossman John M. Michaelis	1970, 1972

Taba Program in Social Science

22.	People in Change: East Asia D. Ian Allen Bryant Strong Charles B. Meyers	1975
23.	People in Change: South Asia D. Ian Allen Charles B. Meyers	1975
24.	People in Communities Elizabeth W. Samuels Kim Ellis Mary C. Durkin	1972
25.	People in Families Mary J. Shindelus Mary C. Durkin	1972

ADDISON WESLEY (cont)

Taba Program in Social Science (cont)

26. People in States 1972
Alan R. Beals
Patsy Tanabe
David W. Plath
Barbara K. Halpern
Joel M. Halpern
Phyllis R. Blakeley
Mary C. Durkin

World Studies Inquiry Series

27. Asia 1969
Daniel Birch
Robin J. McKeown
David L. Weitzman

ALLYN & BACON, INC.

470 Atlantic Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02210

28. The Afro-Asian World 1969, 1972
Edward R. Kolevzon

Concepts & Inquiry Series

29. Children in Other Lands 1970
The Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America

30. Four World Views 1971
The Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America

31. The Indian Subcontinent 1971
The Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America

32. The Interaction of Cultures 1971
The Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America

ALLYN & BACON (cont)

Concepts & Inquiry Series (cont)

33.	Marco Polo The Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America	1970, 1974
34.	Nations in Action: International Tensions The Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America	1972
35.	New World and Eurasian Cultures The Social Science Staff of the Educational Research Council of America	1971
36.	Eastern Lands James F. Reed	1966, 1968

Episodes in Social Inquiry Series

37.	Social Change: The Case of Rural China Ezra Vogel Philip West David L. Grossman Suzanne Davenport John C. Williams	1971
38.	A Global History of Man Leftens Stravrianos Loretta K. Andrews James E. Sheridan John R. McLane Frank Safford	1970, 1974
39.	Inside World Politics John J. Farrell	1974
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SOUTH-WESTERN PUBLISHING COMPANY

5101 Madison Road
Cincinati, Ohio 45227

304. World Geography (8th Edition) — 1974
Norman J. G. Pounds
James Woodall Taylor

WEBSTER McGRAW-HILL

1221 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10020

305. The World Today: Its Patterns & Cultures — 1963, 1966, 1971
Clyde F. Kohn
Dorothy Weitz Drummond

WEBSTER McGRAW-HILL (cont)

306. Twentieth Century Asia: An Anthology 1969
John U. Michaelis
Robin McKeown

BOOKS WHICH APPEAR MOST FREQUENTLY ON THE ADOPTION LISTS OF 16 STATES AND 11 CITIES

TITLE, PUBLISHER, AND COPYRIGHT DATES	TIMES MENTIONED
1. The Social Sciences-Concepts and Values, Level Two-Red, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970, 1975	18
2. The Social Sciences-Concepts and Values, Level Six-Brown, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970, 1975	17
3. Regions Around the World, Addison Wesley, 1970, 1972	16
4. Communities and Social Needs, Laidlaw Brothers, 1974	15
5. Families and Social Needs, Laidlaw Brothers, 1974	15
6. Human Adventure, Addison Wesley, 1970, 1972	13
7. Man and Change, Silver Burdett, 1972	13
8. Man and His World, Silver Burdett, 1972	13
9. Men and Nations, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971	13
10. People at Home, Laidlaw Brothers, 1972	13
11. This Is Man, Silver Burdett, 1972	13
12. Working Playing Learning, Addison Wesley, 1970, 1972	13
13. A Global History of Man, Allyn & Bacon, 1970, 1974	12
14. Using the Social Studies, Laidlaw Brothers, 1972	12
15. Confucian China, American, 1971	11
16. Living World History, Scott Foresman, 1964, 1969, 1974	11
17. People Places Products, Addison Wesley, 1970, 1972	11
18. The Wide World: A Geography, Macmillan, 1959, 1962, 1967, 1972	11
19. Approach to World History, Silver Burdett, 1970	10
20. Communities and Their Needs, Silver Burdett, 1972	10

TITLE, PUBLISHER, AND COPYRIGHT DATES	TIMES MENTIONED
21. The Earth and Man, American, 1970	10
22. India, American, 1971	10
23. Man's Cultural Heritage, J. B. Lippincott, 1965, 1969	10
24. Man's Unfinished Journey, Houghton Mifflin, 1971, 1974	10
25. Social Studies and Our World, Laidlaw Brothers, 1972	10
26. The Ways of Man: An Introduction to Many Cultures, Macmillan, 1971, 1974	10
27. Web of the World: Interdependence of People and Places, Macmillan, 1971, 1973	10

ADOPTION LISTS
SURVEYED FOR TEXTBOOKS
WITH ASIAN CONTENT

CITY ADOPTION LISTS

1. Buffalo Approved List of Textbooks 1974-1975
2. Cleveland Textbook List 1968-1973
3. Dallas Independent School District Social Studies Textbook List 1973-1974
4. Denver Public Schools Textbook List 1974
5. The Detroit Social Studies Program Textbook List 1971
6. Philadelphia Textbook List 1974
7. Social Studies Textbooks List for Phoenix Union System 1974-1975
8. Portland Social Studies Textbook List 1973
9. St. Louis Social Studies Textbook List
10. San Diego Approved Textbook Listing 1974-1975
11. Tucson Public School Textbook List

STATE ADOPTION LISTS

1. Alabama State-Adopted Textbook List 1973-1974
2. Adopted Textbooks for State of Arkansas Supplemental List 1972
3. California State Textbook List 1970-1971
4. State Adopted Textbooks in Florida 1974-1975
5. The Georgia Textbook List 1974
6. Textbook Adoptions for Idaho Public Schools 1974
7. The State Multiple List of Textbooks of Kentucky 1971-1975
8. Mississippi State Textbook List 1973

9. Textbook Division of New Mexico Department of Education Adoption List 1972

10. Annual Textbook Requisition of the State of Oklahoma 1974-1975

11. State Adopted Textbooks for Oregon Schools 1973-1979

12. Catalogue of Adopted Textbooks for Use in South Carolina Public Schools 1974-1975

13. Tennessee Official List of Textbooks 1974

14. Texas Education Agency, Framework for the Social Studies 1970

15. Virginia Textbook List 1973-1975

16. West Virginia Textbook List

APPENDIX B

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE ASIA SOCIETY TEXTBOOK EVALUATION PROJECT

"In developing a methodology for Asia, it is strongly suggested that the social sciences be liberally supplemented with materials and skills from the humanities. One problem with much of the material being published on Asian societies is its emphasis on social science concepts at the expense of a humanistic emphasis. This approach is unbalanced and it leaves out materials and approaches which encourage student empathy and identification. Both the social science process and humanistic studies can easily be synthesized by selecting material from the native literature, art, music and philosophy. This synthesis will allow students opportunity for perceptive kinds of experience as well as for the conventional conceptual learning."

Donald Johnson
The Teaching of Asia, The Educational
Resources Center, The State Education
Department, The State University of
New York. 1970. Page 17.

"Full cultural treatment of a regional study contains humanistic material. Music, art and literature combine with social science content to provide a more effective and even different picture than one gets from studying only social order and disorder through sociology, geography, and politics. Ideas and concepts concerning conscience and character emerge from the study of literature and history."

Harold H. Negley
"Drawing on the Humanities" in Humanities and the Social Studies, Bulletin
Number 44, National Council for the
Social Studies. Page 94.

"The social studies must draw on the humanities for insight into the non-quantifiable aspects of human life. Social structure and processes are contexts in which particular individuals function...the social studies properly comprise not just the study of social contexts, but the study of man in his social context. In such an endeavor the humanities are simply indispensable. Cultivation, the end of humanistic studies is after all civilization, the end of social studies."

Thomas F. Powell
"Humanities and the Social Studies: One
Subject, Two Fields" in Humanities and
the Social Studies, Bulletin Number 44,
National Council for the Social Studies.
Page 12.

"If our concern is people, then let them appear as real people with motivations, emotions, ambitions, and a sense of purpose to their lives. The dehumanized figure in the history text, known to the student only as a name, is a mask behind which some puppet-like figure lurks without revealing any of its substance. Mao Tse-tung is a name; pictured standing with his hand raised before an adulating crowd, he acquires a face; he comes alive in the student's mind with his remarks to Edgar Snow: 'My father had two years of schooling and he could read enough to keep books. My mother was wholly illiterate. Both were from peasant families. I was the family scholar. I knew the classics but disliked them. What I enjoyed were the romances of old China, and especially stories of rebellions. I used to read them in school, covering them up with a Classic when the teacher walked past. So also did most of my classmates.' I have seen knowing smiles move across student's faces as they read this, and there were few among them who could not in that moment relate to the leader of the world's most populous nation. Mao the abstraction had become Mao the man. For this effect alone the passage would be a valuable source, but for the observant, alert teacher it has much greater meaning. In these few words students can discover a clue to the fate of China's last dynasty and of Confucianism, and begin to see the subtle changes in Chinese life, a process which Joseph R. Levenson called "the making of an anchronism."

David L. Weitzman
"Teaching about China in the Classroom: What We Look for beyond Seeing" in China: A Resource and Curriculum Guide, The University of Chicago Press, p. 19.

"A decade of the developmental curriculum movement has produced major changes in curricula of American schools. Books have changed. This we know. What we do not know is what is in the books...."

Professor Hulda Grobman
"Content Analysis as a Tool in Formative and Summative Evaluation," a talk at the AERA Annual Meeting in Chicago, April, 1972.

The primary purpose of this evaluation is to determine:

(1) what American elementary and secondary school textbooks teach about Asia at which levels;

(2) the extent to which there is a total cultural approach as opposed to a narrow emphasis on economics, politics, and history; and

(3) the degree to which Asian humanistic sources are incorporated into the text, supplementary activities, bibliography, and references.

In addition to furnishing teachers with an evaluation of existing materials, this study will provide The Asia Society with a perspective on texts now in use so that we can alert authors and publishers to translations of Asian primary sources for revised editions and new curriculum projects.

Hopefully, this evaluation will be a consciousness-raising exercise for all concerned: evaluators, teachers, publishers, and students. A key element will be an analysis of how unarticulated assumptions about cultures influence the choice, the organization, and the wording of materials. Assumptions are often made regarding technology as the principal vehicle of change and progress, with the result that economically "under-developed" societies receive distorted and inadequate treatment in many texts. Our assumption is that a total cultural approach utilizing both Asian humanistic sources and the more standard historical and economic materials will promote a more balanced view of Asian cultures.

* * * * * *

EVALUATION GUIDELINES
FOR
SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS

This evaluation will focus on seven occasionally overlapping areas:

I. DEGREE OF ASIAN CONTENT

II. TYPE OF INSTRUCTIONAL AND SCHOLARLY METHODOLOGY

III. ACCURACY

IV. UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT ASIAN SOCIETIES

V. SUPPLEMENTARY ACTIVITIES, MATERIALS, READINGS

VI. FORMAT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

VII. EXTENT AND TREATMENT OF HUMANISTIC & HUMAN INTEREST MATERIALS

N.B. Humanistic materials include: literature (poetry, fiction, diaries, letters, drama, etc.), art, music, philosophy, religion.

Human interest materials include, e.g. letters to the editor of the Asahi Shimbun from a Japanese woman, matrimonial advertisements in an Indian newspaper.

We have developed an initially mind-boggling set of questions to deal with each area. They are points to keep in mind as you read. Each area dealt with should be labelled clearly, but questions need not be answered in the same order within each category. However, please make sure to speak to all the items in each section if they apply. The list of questions is not exhaustive. You need not confine your comments to issues raised in them. If you note a point we have neglected, please make your observations and draw our attention to the item so that we may alert others. If the book avoids the pitfalls anticipated in the questions, say so. Positive comments and examples are as important as the negative. Prose reactions are far more valuable than yes-no answers. Keep in mind the author's intentions and the "climate of the time" in which she or he originally wrote the text. (This is particularly true of Chinese content.) A sample report on a textbook is attached, but do not feel bound to conform to the specific style of the review. Do keep in mind the suggestions made on report format below. The sample is included to encourage extended, informal, down-to-earth remarks. Responses are not for publication and would be edited before any final report is produced. It will be extremely helpful in collating the reports if your evaluation is "self-contained" and does not necessitate referring back to the text.

The format of the question sheet has been revised in order to make tabulation of final results easier to quantify and analyze. Please use one side of the paper only, and clearly indicate which question is being spoken to, by number and description or heading. All examples must be substantiated by quotes from the text. Be sure to give page number and enough description to place quote in context.

Start a new page for each category in order to make final tabulation easier. For example, "Inaccuracies" can be included in one category with five subheadings. If, for example, you have three-quarters of a sheet of paper left over after finishing "Inaccuracies," go on to the next category, "Foreign Terms" on a new sheet of paper. This will help us collate your material for the final report.

BASIC INFORMATION

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

1. Title: 2. Series

3. Author(s):(please list credentials and institutional affiliation)

4. Consultant(s): (list credentials and affiliation)

5. Publisher and address: 6. Date of publication (& date of reissue/revision)

7. Total length of student's book: (Including index and acknowledgements)
Total length of teacher's guide:

8. Length of Asian material: 9. What Asian country, countries, region or area is covered?

10. Length of North American material:

11. Length of European material:

12. Length of African material:

13. Medium: (Hardcover, Workbook, etc.)

14. Cost :

15. Reviewer :

16. Date sent out :

17. Publisher's level designation :

I. Describe FORMAT and its implications briefly.

i.e. Appraise text, including cover design, as if you were thumbing through any book with intent to purchase. Does it look like a "real" book or a textbook? What size is the print? Does the book invite you to read on? Why? If not, why not? If you were a student would you want to read it?

II. What are the SPECIFIC DISCIPLINES?

(Historical, anthropological, sociological, economic, humanistic, etc.)

Describe weight given to each approach. Is the approach chronological, expository, interpretive, case-study, and/or primary source, etc? Is the primary purpose of the book to introduce Asia or to introduce a discipline?

III. What are the SPECIFIC TOPICS covered in the Asian material?

e.g. Long March, land reform, etc.

Note glaring omissions and comment on which topics are emphasized.

Omissions: e.g. the Opium War in treatment of European involvement with China.

What are the GENERAL TOPICS dealt with in World History material? Comment, if pertinent, on how coverage of Asia compares with coverage of other regions, but you need not do an in-depth analysis of areas other than Asia.

------------------Start a new sheet in your report----------------

IV. Evaluate ACCURACY in terms of factual information, foreign terms, and sources.

Evaluate AUTHENTICITY. If the material is not authentic give examples.

> e.g. If the text relates in the author's own words "A Day in the Life of Beero," is the day an authentic one for an Indian child? Are names and places authentic?

Identify and give examples from the text and teacher's guides as follows:

1. Factual inaccuracies and inauthenticity.
2. Inauthenticity through invented case studies. Are the names accurate?
3. Inaccuracy in the use of foreign terms.
   e.g. Mt. Fujiyama, hara-kiri.
4. Inaccuracy in the definition of foreign terms.
5. Inaccuracy through the misspelling of foreign terms.
6. Inaccuracy through the use of out-of-date material.
7. Inaccuracy as the result of omission or a fragmented or superficial treatment a topic, resulting in distortion.
8. Inaccurate sources used in bibliography.
9. Inaccurate pronunciations in the pronunciation guide.
10. Are authors and consultants qualified in Asian background?
    Total # of consultants:_____; # with Asian specialization:______
11. How would you rate the over-all accuracy/authenticity level of this book? 1)poor 2)fair 3)good 4)excellent

V. Please list foreign terms (common words) used in each text by country. Is there a pronunciation guide? Where is the pronunciation guide?

---------------Start a new sheet in your report---------------

VI. Listed below are various APPROACHES and ASSUMPTIONS that occur in textbooks. When assumptions are found a quoted example should be given from the textbook. For example, if Confucius were described as "reaching the heights of Western philosophers," you would write next to it the page number of the text and 1(f), because this is an example of how the accomplishments of Asia cultures can be measured by Western standards. This makes a handy key which can be used later in tabulating the reports to see how often certain assumptions occur. If an assumption is found that is not included here, identify it and give an example. Whenever appropriate, use this system to identify examples throughout the entire question sheet.

POSSIBLE APPROACHES:

1. Developmental (or progress-oriented) approach:

   (a) Does the text emphasize change and growth or persistence and continuity in a culture?

   (b) Is there an assumption that all societies follow a developmental or evolutionary pattern? Does this imply the superiority of the West?

   (c) Are large powerful societies emphasized to the neglect of the small?

   (d) If comparisons between Asian countries and Western countries are made, how are they made?

   (e) If comparisons are made, is there an effort to compare the "likes"? Are they valid?

   (f) Are the accomplishments of Asian cultures measured by Western standards?

   (g) Are differences between Asian and Western countries explained in such a way that there is an emphasis on what the Asian cultures do not have?

   > "No roads for cars have been made in Gopalpur. The nearest road is two miles away. The paths are too rough and sandy for bicycles, so people usually walk wherever they are going. In the dry season, government officials sometimes ride into Gopalpur in a jeep. The nearest telephone is twelve miles away."

   (h) Is Asia seen as a stage for Western history?

   (i) Are foreigners always helping or intervening to the extent that the people of the area seem to have little initiative or influence?

   (j) Are differences between Asian and Western countries explained in such a way that Asian social and cultural forces are seen as "problems"?

APPROACHES and ASSUMPTIONS (cont)

(k) Are terms like "modernization" and "Westernization" used? How are they used and defined?

(l) Is "Westernization" used interchangeably with "modernization"?

(m) Is there a dichotomy assumed between tradition and modernity in the text?

(n) Is there a definition of human, societal, or a civilization's worth in economic terms?

(o) Is there an overemphasis on the poverty of a country or area?

(p) If the progress-oriented developmental mode is accepted as a point of view by the author, could selected phrases or terms be edited to reduce cultural arrogance?

(q) Is the study of Asia justified in terms of strategic importance to the U.S.?

2. Asian Superiority Approach

(a) Are Asian cultures presented as superior to the Western?

e.g. more spiritual, exotic, artistic, etc.

3. Asian Inscrutability Approach

(a) Is Asia presented as mysterious and inscrutable?

4. Asia-centered (Humanistic) Approach

(a) Is the culture presented as rational within its own context and cultural value system?

(b) Does the text help students develop empathy for other cultures? If so, how?

(c) Is the culture viewed within an Asian historical context?

(d) Are there attempts to get beyond the exotic or alien nature of some social customs?

5. Eclectic Approach

(a) Is a conscious effort made to present different possible approaches in the text?

VII. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS concerning assumptions. Give "yes"/"no" responses.

1. Does the author recognize his or her assumptions?

2. Is the text consistent in its assumptions?

3. What values or aims do the text promote? Does the text carry this out succesfully?

   e.g. Interdependency, Asia as part of the entire world system, futuristic thinking, prevention of war and preservation of peace, restoration of ecological balance, expanded social justice, sharing of world resources, etc.

4. Are the text's assumptions and values as they apply to different Asian countries consistent?

   e.g. Are five-year plans seen as totalitarian in China and progressive in Indonesia?

5. What assumptions are made about the organization of societies and historical change?

   e.g. Organismic, cyclical, diffusionist, historical, geographic, or economic determinist views, etc.

6. Is an effort made to portray both the Great and Little traditions?

   Great Tradition = classical philosophy, religion and literature.
   Little Tradition = folk myths and practice.

7. Is there an effort to present a balanced view of topics?

8. Is there a conscious effort to portray pluralism in a society when it exists?

VIII. STYLE and TONE.

Please give examples in each case:

1. Are value-laden, ethnocentric and/or charged words and terminology used?

   e.g. Red China, Far East, progress, development.

2. Are clichés used?

   e.g. "dawn of civilization," "cradle of civilization," "emerging giant."

3. Is there a we-they tone?

4. Is there a condescending, moralistic, or patronizing tone?

5. Is there a "brotherhood of man" approach that denies differences?

6. Is the treatment of any given topic at such a high level of abstraction that students would have difficulty understanding the material?

7. Is there evidence of racist and/or sexist attitudes on the part of the author?

   e.g. "White man's burden" or "little brown brother" approach.

--------------Start a new sheet in your report-------------

IX. FORMAT and ILLUSTRATIONS

(check inaccuracies under section VII.)

1. Do the illustrations "extend" and enhance the text, add to its meaning, or are they purely decorative?

2. Analyze type, number, and date of illustrations (charts, cartoons, photographs, etc.). Is there a balanced variety? Are there objects, historical paintings, and documents also represented?

3. Are different groups within a society portrayed?

4. Do pictures project stereotypes?

   e.g. poverty, agressive behavior, women in subservient or "supporting" roles, "quaint" Asian scenes, modern technology, etc.

5. If color reproduction is used, is the quality good? What about black and white illustrations?

6. If applicable: What kind of first impressions about Asia does the cover convey? The frontispiece?

X. What types of CREDITS are given for illustrations and photos? Do they appear on the same page or in another part of the book? Are dimensions given for art works? Names or artists? Period? Museum? Collection? Are dates given for maps and illustrations?

A REMINDER on humanistic/human interest materials in text, illustrations, supporting material and suggestions for further readings:

Humanistic materials include: literature (poetry, fiction, diaries, letters, drama, etc.) art, music, philosophy, religion.

Human interest materials include, e.g. letters to the editor of the Asahi Shimbun from a Japanese woman, matrimonial ads in an Indian newspaper.

XI. SOURCE READINGS

1. Are source readings in body of text credited? If so, does the credit appear in footnote form on the same page? What kind of information is in the footnote? Does it indicate whether the reading is a direct quote or adapted from another work? Is the translator and source credited?

2. List Asian source readings within text.

3. Are the translations in contemporary language or are they dated?

XII. Is there a BIBLIOGRAPHY listing further Asian sources? Are sources listed in the student's book as well as in the teacher's manual? Please list sources. If there is a separation between student and teacher sources, please make two separate lists. If long listing, xerox and attach. Indicate which sources are humanistic or human interest.

XIII. SUPPORTING MATERIALS

1. Is there an accurate pronunciation guide?

2. Is there a glossary of foreign terms?

3. Is there an index?

4. Is there a teacher's guide?

5. Does the teacher's guide promote the same values and rest on the same assumptions as the student text?

6. Does the teacher's guide make a conscious effort to avoid ethnocentrism? Does it succeed in this?

7. Does the teacher's guide assist in carrying out the objectives of the text? Is the teacher's guide useful?

8. Is the teacher's guide realistic about what can be achieved through the student text?

9. Are humanistic materials made available through the teacher's guide? Are these intended to be shared with the student? Could they have been presented?

------------Start a new sheet in your report------------

XIV. HUMANISTIC MATERIALS

1. To what extent does the text take a humanistic approach? (Characterize as none/some/dominant. Give examples.) Are people (men and women) at the center? To what extent does the text include *Asian* humanistic sources or voices as opposed to outside observers?

   e.g. Lu Hsun vs. Pearl S. Buck.

2. Even if the humanities are not introduced as a specific discipline, which humanistic traditions are represented?

   e.g. religion, philosophy, literature, music, visual arts, performing arts, recreation, etc.

3. How are humanistic/human interest materials used? Give examples.

   (a) Is a humanistic language, style, tone used?

   (b) Are humanistic materials included to give extra *information* about an area?

   i.e. to indicate an area has an art or a literature as well as an economic policy.

   (c) Are humanistic materials (especially literature) used to increase student *understanding* of social science concepts?

   e.g. social change

   (d) Are humanistic materials included to increase student *appreciation* of Asia's cultural heritage?

   (e) Are humanistic materials included to *illustrate* cultural values?

   (f) Is humanistic material presented so that students can *empathize* with other peoples and are given direct contact with other peoples and their values? (Do not confuse creating sympathy with the plight of others with empathy.)

   (g) Does humanistic material *balance* Western observers' interpretations of the situation under study?

   e.g. Are the Japanese impressions of Perry included in word and picture along with Perry's impressions of the Japanese?

HUMANISTIC MATERIALS (con't)

4. Do end-of-chapter questions encourage empathy? When possible, check desired responses in the teacher's guide to see what is expected. Do the end-of-chapter questions encourage ethnocentricity?

5. What about questions that follow humanities material? Are they done sensitively to foster empathy? (Debates that encourage students to decide the value of retaining different cultural practices do not always foster empathy. Nor will everyone empathize with the same material.)

6. Are writings (poetry, journals, quotations, etc.) by Asians set off in a different format or treated as an integral part of the text? If set off, does the design enhance the statement, or does it look like an afterthought or something to be skipped over?

7. What Asian humanistic/human interest sources can you recommend be included as source readings or in the teacher's or student's bibliography?

----------------Start a new page in your report---------------

XV. SUGGESTION BOX

This is the place to suggest specific remedies for criticisms that you have found. It's easy to criticize, but not so easy to offer suggestions. Comment from your experience and/or knowledge of sources that the writer may not be aware of. Be positive!! Please comment on the 10 best books in your area of specialization that textbook authors should consult before writing. Also, please comment on how each book could be used in the classroom.

XVI. PATS ON THE BACK

This is the place to give particular plaudits to a book or an aspect of a book that stands up particularly well. The questions given certainly will ferret out what is wrong, but we also want ample opportunity to be given to specific goodies that may not have been mentioned in other categories.

National Advisory Panel

Jackson Bailey
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Peter Bennett
Staples High School
Westport, Connecticut

Frank Buchanan
Service Center for Teachers of Asian Studies
Columbus, Ohio

Betty Bullard
Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Michael Fonte
PASE
Ann Arbor, Michigan

James Hantula
Chairman, AAS Committee on Secondary Education
University of Northern Iowa

Fern Ingersoll
Writer Lecturer
Takoma Park, Maryland

Donald Johnson
New York University
New York

Jean Johnson
Friends School
New York

David Narot
World Education
New York

Marta Nicholas
Chicago, Illinois

Harold Wright
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

XVII. SUMMATION

If you feel the need to make extra comments or statements about the text, this is the place for it. We also would like you to rate the text here:

1. (Excellent text, should be highly recommended.)
2. (Can be used as is, but has some problems.)
3. (Could be used only with revisions.)
4. (Definitely should not be used. Unacceptable.)

This questionnaire is in part drawn from a working paper on evaluating educational materials on Asia produced by a group of teachers with backgrounds including study and travel in Asia and experience in teaching Asian to American secondary school students. The guidelines were refined and clarified by Asia Society staff with the assistance of a National Advisory Panel.

NYU Masters in Asian Studies Program Teachers Evaluation Committee

Billie Day
Cardozo High School
Washington, D.C.

Peggy Helgeson
Junior High
St. Cloud, Minnesota

Harry Osgood
Director, Area Cooperative
Educational Services,
New Haven, Connecticut

Frederick Price
High School
St. Paul, Minnesota

Loretta Ryan
Formerly Western Jr.
High School
Somerville, Massachusetts

William Skowronski
Parochial High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Lucia Pierce
Morgan School
Clinton, Connecticut

Asia Society Educational Resources/Asian Literature Program Staff

Bonnie R. Crown
Director

Loretta Ryan
Project Associate

Andrea Miller
Assistant Director

Zelda Bradburd
Research and Editorial Assistant

Tin-Mala
Staff Assistant

APPENDIX C

LIST OF READERS

Philip Allen
M.A. Chinese History
George Washington University
Washington, D.C.

Michael Antolik
Teacher
La Salle Academy
New York, New York

Jackson Bailey
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

L. A. Bester
Consultant
International Society for
Educational Information
Tokyo, Japan

Franklin Buchanan
Director
Service Center for Teachers
of Asian Studies
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Lenore Burckel
Teacher
Washington Park High School
Racine, Wisconsin

Zelda S. Bradburd
Research & Editorial Assistant
The Asia Society
New York, New York

Betty Bullard
Consultant
State Department of Public
Instruction
Raleigh, North Carolina

Jonathan Chaves
Professor
Department of Comparative Literature
State University of New York
Binghamton, New York

Sandy Cheiten
Teacher
Central Commercial High School
New York, New York

Robert Crawford
Ph.D. Candidate
Columbia University
New York, New York

Bonnie R. Crown
Director
Educational Resources/
Asian Literature Program
The Asia Society
New York, New York

Thelma Davis
Former Teacher
Graduate Student
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Billie Day
Teacher
Cardozo High School
Washington, D.C.

David Dell
Foreign Area Materials Center
New York, New York

Edward C. Dimock
Professor
Department of Linguistics
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Elizabeth Douglas-Weikert
Consultant on Southeast Asian
Studies in California Schools
Santa Clara, California

A. Ebato
Assistant Professor
Meiji University
Tokyo, Japan

John Echols
Professor
Department of Linguistics
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Ainslie Embree
Dean
School of International Affairs
Columbia University
New York, New York

Darlene Fisher
Former Teacher
New Trier High School
Winnetka-Northfield, Illinois

Michael Fonte
Administrator /
Scholar for PASE
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Camille Funk
Chinese Language Study
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

William Funk
Teacher
Decatur High School
Decatur, Georgia

Robert D. Geise
Chairman
Social Studies Department
South Side Senior High School
Rockville Centre, New York

Patricia Genz
Teacher
Calverton School
Calverton, Maryland

Michael Gerber
Professor
Comparative Education &
Social Studies Education
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, New York

Leonard Gordon
Professor
New School of Liberal Arts
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, New York

Dotty Guyot
John Jay College of
Criminal Justice
New York, New York

Jane Hamilton-Merritt
Former Teacher
Consultant to State School
Systems on Asian Studies
West Redding, Connecticut

James Hantula
Chairperson
AAS Committee on Elementary &
Secondary Education
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Cedar Falls, Iowa

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Editoral Assistant
The Asia Society
New York, New York

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Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Foreign Languages Department
Member of the Classics Dept.
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, California

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Professor
Department of Humanities
San Francisco State College
San Francisco, California

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Foreign Service Institute
Washington, D.C.

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Tokyo University
Tokyo, Japan

S. Iwao
Professor Emeritus
Tokyo University
Tokyo, Japan

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Scarsdale, New York

Jean Johnson
Teacher
Friends School
New York, New York

Donald Johnson
Director
Asian Studies Program
New York University
New York, New York

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Roycemore School
Evanston, Illinois

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International Society for
Educational Information
Tokyo, Japan

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Fairfield Public Schools
Fairfield, Connecticut

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New York, New York

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Languages and Cultures
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Professor
Department of Political Science
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

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Former Doctoral Student
Chinese Language & Literature
Cambridge University
Cambridge, England

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& Comparative Literature
Columbia University
New York, New York

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Professor
Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

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Instructor in Asian Studies
Verde Valley School
Sedona, Arizona

James McNally
Team Teacher
Social Studies Honors Program
Bayonne High School
Bayonne, New Jersey

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Professor
Chinese Literature
Denison University
Grandville, Ohio

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Professor
East Asian Studies
Columbia University
New York, New York

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Department of History
North Carolina University
Raleigh, North Carolina

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Assistant Director
Educational Resources/
Asian Literature Program
The Asia Society
New York, New York

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Associate Director
Mother McAuley Liberal Arts
High School
Chicago, Illinois

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Colgate University
Hamilton, New York

F. W. Mote
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Department of Oriental Studies
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Eden Naby
1975 Chairman of Afghanistan Council
The Asia Society
New York, New York

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Professor
South Asian Language & Area Center
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

David Narot
World Education
New York, New York

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Writer, Lecturer
Chicago, Illinois

Ralph W. Nicholas
Professor
Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Usha Nilsson
Professor
Department of Indian Studies
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Makoto Okada
Professor
Komazawa University
Tokyo, Japan

Herbert Passin
Professor
Department of Sociology
Columbia University
New York, New York

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Teacher
Chairman, Social Studies Dept.
Stuyvesant High School
New York, New York

Lucia Pierce
Teacher
Morgan School
Clinton, Connecticut

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Council on East Asian Studies
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Karl Potter
Professor
Department of Philosophy
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Daud Rahbar
Professor
School of Theology
Boston University
Boston, Massachusetts

A. K. Ramanujan
Professor
South Asian Language and
Area Center
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

J. F. Richards
Associate Professor
Department of History &
South Asian Studies
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

J. T. Rimer
Chairman
Department of Chinese & Japanese
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri

Loretta Ryan
Project Associate
Educational Resources/
Asian Literature Program
The Asia Society
New York, New York

James Sanzare
Teacher
Lincoln High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Hiroaki Sato
Poet, Translator
New York, New York

Wayne Schlepp
Professor
Department of East Asian Studies
University of Toronto
Toronto, Canada

William Skowronski
Teacher
Msgr. Bonner High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Phyllis Smarto
Teacher
Willoughby-East Lake School System
Willoughby, Ohio

Frank Smarto
Teacher
Willoughby-Eastlake School System
Willoughby, Ohio

S. E. Solberg
Professor
Institute of Comparative &
Foreign Area Studies
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Jonathan Spence
Professor
Department of History
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Benita Stambler
Former Teacher
Buffalo Public Schools
Albany, New York

Robert Swacker
Teacher
St. Ann's School
Brooklyn, New York

Tin-Mala
Staff Assistant
Educational Resources/
Asian Literature Program
The Asia Society
New York, New York

Richard Tucker
Professor
Department of History
Oakland University
Oakland, California

Royall Tyler
Former Professor
Japanese Language & Literature
Toronto University
Toronto, Canada

Edward Vernoff
Ph.D. Candidate
New York University
New York, New York

David Weitzman
Department Chairman
Oakland Technical High School
Oakland, California

John Whitmore
Professor
Department of History
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Mark Willner
Chairman
Social Studies Department
Midwood High School
Brooklyn, New York

Harold Wright
Japan Program
Antioch College
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Arlene Zide
Writer, Lecturer
Chicago, Illinois

Norman Zide
Professor
South Asian Language & Area Center
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Leon Zolbrod
Professor
Department of Asian Studies
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

APPENDIX D

ASIA SOCIETY PROJECT STAFF

Educational Resources/Asian Literature Program

Bonnie R. Crown, Director

Loretta Ryan, Project Associate

Andrea Miller, Assistant Director (through 8/1/75)

Zelda Bradburd, Research Assistant (through 12/24/74)

Tin-Mala, Staff Assistant (through 1/20/75)

Cindy Rau, Staff Assistant

Collation Staff

Nancy Lanoue, Research Assistant

Robin Lewis, Research Assistant

Owh Kian Ong, Staff Assistant